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THE TEMPLE PRIMERS

A HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH

By the Very Rev.
H. D. M. SPENCE, D.D.
Dean of Gloucester



GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL

From a Photograph by F. H. Evans

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A HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH



BY H.D.M. SPENCE
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GLOUCESTER

TORONTO: GEORGE N. MORANG & CO. LTD.
1901 90 WELLINGTON STREET WEST

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HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH

PART I

The British and Anglo-Saxon Church

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Early Christianity in Britain before the Coming of the North Folk.—The memories of the first two or three hundred years of the life of the Church in Britain are but dim. It could not be otherwise, for there passed over the island in the fifth and sixth centuries a crushing calamity such as no other Christian land has ever been subjected to. The long-drawn-out invasion of the North Folk lasted, thanks to the gallant resistance of the British people, nearly two centuries. The slow but ruthless conquest swept away—save in a remote district of the island—every trace of the old life. A few notices, however, of early writers tell us that prior to the great invasion from a very early period a Christian Church flourished in Britain. Thus Tertullian (*circa* A.D. 196-201) says "that places in Britain, not yet visited by the Romans, were subjected to Christ." Records of the very early Church Councils of Arles (A.D. 314), of Sardica (A.D. 347), of Ariminium (A.D. 359), mention the presence at these well-known assemblies of British bishops.

Allusions also, which presuppose the antiquity of the Island Church are made by St Athanasius (*circa* A.D. 350), St Hilary of Poitiers (A.D. 350), St Jerome (*circa* A.D. 390), and St Chrysostom (*circa* A.D. 398), Hilary especially congratulating his British brethren on the freedom of their Church from the contagion of the heresy of Arius.

The Coming of the North Folk.—The awful catastrophe which swept away the once flourishing British Church came about in this wise. The Roman Legions, sorely needed for the defence of Italy against the Northern Barbarians, were withdrawn from Britain *circa* A.D. 409. Some forty years later the Northmen in good earnest began their conquest of the island. For 150 to 200 years their slow but cruel devastations continued. In the end, the old life of Britain, its cities, its people, its faith had disappeared. Only a poor remnant of the Celtic inhabitants of the island, carrying with them their faith, found a refuge in the hills of Wales and Cumberland. The conquest of the North Folk was virtually complete in the last years of the sixth century.

Some 200 years before (*circa* A.D. 373), in the last years of Roman rule in Britain, the son of a Roman magistrate, Patrick, had been carried away captive by a pirate band of Irishmen, he escaped eventually from his captors, but determined to return to Ireland to tell the story of Christianity.

Christianity in Ireland.—The Annals of the Faith contain many a marvellous history of the reception of the religion of the crucified, but nowhere is a more wonderful story told than that of the conversion of the Irish Celts. Among the petty kings and tribes into which in the fourth and fifth centuries Ireland was divided, the preaching of Patrick was welcomed with a strange enthusiasm; within a century after the first efforts of Patrick, Ireland became generally a Christian country. Vast associations of devoted men were formed, and the religious communities or monasteries of Ireland became famous throughout Europe—famous not only for their piety, but for their devotion to learning. A great impulse was given to Irish Christianity early in the sixth century by a considerable migration from the remnant of British Christians in Wales who had escaped from the conquering Northmen.

Thus while Britain, save in a remote corner of the island, overwhelmed by the wave of Northmen, became once more Pagan, Ireland in the course of those disastrous fifth and sixth centuries, under the influences above alluded, became one of the chief centres of Christianity in the West. In the later years of the sixth century we find her even appearing as a great missionary power. Columban, a monk of the Irish Bangor, one of the vast religious communities founded in A.D. 559, with a band of Irish monks undertook the task of converting the half Pagan Frankish conquerors of Eastern Gaul. They settled at Luxeuil, in the province now known as Alsace, among the Vosges mountains, and were quickly joined by fresh recruits from the Irish monasteries. The preaching of Columban and his companions in Gaul was attended with extraordinary success, and in what seems an incredibly short space of time a net-work of monastic establishments spread from Luxeuil over Central and

Northern Europe, all owning the "Rule" of the Irish monk Columban.

A few years before this foreign mission of Columban another Irish monk, Columba, about the year 563, with a small body of disciples, had landed on the west coast of Scotland, and from the desolate island of Iona, where he settled, he preached the Gospel far and wide among the Celtic inhabitants of Scotland. He, too, met with marked success, and before his death in A.D. 597 a considerable church was founded in North Britain. The work of Columba was an enduring one. In Iona, a little more than thirty years after his death, his mantle fell on one of the Iona monks named Aidan, who during many years preached with conspicuous success among the Pagan Engles, one of the tribes of Northmen who had subjugated Britain. The result of Aidan's splendid work was the partial re-establishment of Christianity among the districts of conquered Britain which lay to the north of the Humber, North-humber-land.

To sum up the condition of the Christian Church in Britain and Ireland at the end of the sixth century. In Britain, roughly speaking, between the sea now known as the English Channel to the Forth and Clyde, and between the North Sea and the hills of Wales and Cumberland, every vestige of Christianity built up between the second and fifth centuries had been swept away by the Pagan Northmen who had made themselves masters of the fairest portions of the island. In the mountainous districts of Wales and Cumberland a poor remnant of the conquered Britons had found a refuge. Among these the ancient Church, as it existed before the coming of the North folk, was preserved with all its immemorial traditions and customs. In Ireland a singularly powerful Celtic Church influenced not merely Ireland, but vast provinces of Central and Northern Europe. This Irish church had been largely reinforced and its life and teaching invigorated by fugitives from Britain. During the latter half of the sixth and first half of the seventh century Irish missionaries who had settled at Iona on the West of Scotland succeeded in

gradually restoring Christianity to the Lowlands of Scotland and the Northern districts of Britain.

Roman Mission of Augustine.—In the later years of the sixth century of which we have been speaking, a Roman ecclesiastic of great power, subsequently known as Pope Gregory the Great, was moved with an earnest desire to attempt the conversion of the great island which had, through the conquest of the Northern Barbarians, relapsed into Paganism. When he became Pope, he despatched a mission under the charge of a trusted friend, the monk Augustine, to Pagan Britain. No doubt the interest which Pope Gregory felt in the distant island was stimulated by the prayers for assistance which he received from a Christian Frankish Princess, Bertha, who was married to the Jutish King of Kent, Ethelbert.

The Jutes were one of the great tribal divisions of the successful invaders of Britain. They had occupied Kent and the south-eastern district of the island, and, in the early days of the Northmen's occupation, under Ethelred, exercised a kind of supremacy over a large portion of Britain. The northern and central divisions of the island were occupied by Engles, another and kindred tribe of Northmen. The southern and western parts of Britain had fallen to the lot of the Saxons, a third family of the northern invaders. The Jute, the Saxon, and the Engle were all tribes of a Low-German branch of the great Teutonic family who dwelt in the north of Germany. The name England comes from the third and most numerous of these great tribes—the Engle. The monk Augustine and his companion missionaries with the assistance of Queen Bertha were kindly received by Ethelbert and his Kentish warriors. Every facility was given them in their work of teaching, and after a time the king and his chiefs were baptised, and the kingdom of Kent generally received the faith. Augustine landed on the shores of Kent in A.D. 597, and before the sixth century had run its course various churches had been built and considerable progress had been made towards Christianising the entire Jutish people. The chief settlement of Augustine was in Canterbury, and the

foundation of the subsequently famous sanctuary which bears the name of the first Roman missionary was laid. We have used the term missionary in speaking of Augustine, but the work planned and to a great extent carried out was much more than a mission. The conversion of the entire island was evidently hoped for by Pope Gregory and his counsellors at Rome. Augustine was consecrated Archbishop of the English. The whole of Britain was parcelled out into dioceses, and a complete ecclesiastical administration under the superintendence of Rome was arranged—frequent communications were exchanged between Gregory and Augustine.

After the first successful efforts among the Jutes of Kent, acting upon instructions from Rome, Augustine travelled to the western districts of Britain with a view of acquainting himself with the state of the remnant of the ancient British Church among the Celtic fugitives in the hill country of Wales. The Roman missionary bishop evidently had been misinformed as to the numbers and power of the Celtic community in the West. The British bishops met Augustine on the banks of the Severn Sea, not far from the spot where the modern city of Bristol now stands.

He found these British bishops utterly indisposed to acknowledge his authority or to recognise any claim of the Church of Rome over a church which possessed immemorial traditions of independence. Their doctrines and teaching on the great cardinal truths of Christianity were the same as those of the Italian Church, but some of their customs were different. They peremptorily refused to alter these, and repudiated altogether the claim of Augustine to supremacy in the government of their church. The conferences were broken off, and for the present nothing further was done in the direction of any fusion between the Celtic and Roman Churches in Britain. Nor was this the only check which Augustine received. After the first wonderful success among the Jutes of Kent and the districts immediately adjacent to the realm of Ethelbert, little more was done towards the Christianising the Pagan conquerors by Augustine and his immediate successors.

A strong church was established in Kent upon the Roman model, but outside the borders of Ethelbert's Jutish kingdom, Christianity for a considerable period made little progress. The real work of the conversion of the Northern Pagan invaders of Britain was done by other hands.

Christianity reintroduced into the North of Britain by Celtic Preachers.—The north and centre of Britain after the Conquest was occupied by a powerful and numerous division of the invaders generally known as the Engles. Fierce disputes among these conquerors followed the first days of the Conquest. We read of various and violent dynastic changes among the chiefs of these Engle peoples. One of their princes, who in one of these sudden and rapid reverses of fortune had been driven from his home, found a refuge in the solitary settlement of Irish monks on the west coast of Scotland —Iona—to which allusion has been already made as the first Scotch foundation of the Irish monk Columba.

In Iona the young exiled prince of the Engles, Oswald, learned to love the Christian faith, and subsequently, when he recovered his position and power among his people, his first care was to introduce the religion he had come to love among his Pagan subjects. He turned to Iona for help and counsel. From Iona joined him one of those rare spirits raised up from time to time to accomplish great and enduring work. In Aidan, the Iona monk, Oswald the Engle king found a noble coadjutor in the great work he had set himself to accomplish, the Christianising the wild nation of warriors he ruled over. Through the mists which surround the confused history of this period—we are speaking of the first half of the seventh century—we catch sight again and again of Aidan the Iona monk. For some sixteen years the Iona mission under their great master Aidan worked unweariedly among the Engle peoples between the Forth and the Humber, and before the race of the world-famous Celtic monk was run, the religion of the Crucified had rooted itself for ever among these wild Northern conquerors.

To speak at this comparatively early period (roughly A.D.

635-651) of the Engles of the lands north of the Humber as a Christian people, would be an exaggeration. But it is an accurate statement which asserts that Christianity had already made a firm lodgment among them, and that its devoted missionary teachers and preachers exercised an enormous and ever growing influence in the wide districts of Northern and Central Britain. The Celtic evangelists, the chief of whom was Aidan, possessed in a strange degree the key of the Northmen's hearts. The conversion of the Northern Engles had been attempted a little earlier in the century by a member of the Roman Mission in Kent—Paulinus, who had been sent from Rome to join the original company of Augustine—under the protection of a powerful Engle prince, Edwin, who had married Ethelburga, the daughter of the Jutish King Ethelbert of Kent and Queen Bertha. This Paulinus preached with great fervour for several years in the lands north of the Humber. But his protector, King Edwin, was defeated and slain in 633 by the Mercian or Mid-Britain Engles, under the heathen King Penda. Paulinus fled southwards with Edwin's widowed Queen, leaving behind him few, if any traces of his mission work. The conversion of the Engle people was accomplished *after* Paulinus' flight by men of a school whose ways and methods were different to those of Rome. The coming of the Celtic Aidan from Iona was only some two years after the flight of the Roman Paulinus southward. His splendid and enduring success as a Christian teacher has already been briefly dwelt upon.

Reasons for the success of the Celtic Missionaries.—It is worth while pausing a moment to consider how the presentation of Christianity by the Celtic Church to a Pagan uncultured people differed from its presentation by the Roman Church, in view of the much greater success among the Northern Pagan conquerors of Britain obtained by the Celtic mission preachers and teachers. There is no doubt but that Celtic men of God of the type of Columba and Aidan exercised a peculiar fascination over the child-minds of the North folk. They were simple, untaught children these

Northern conquerors—often it is true, cruel and vengeful—but they were little more than children waiting for someone whom they could trust to lead them into the better way. On their hearts the cold and calculating highly cultured Italians, austere and pure, but often proud and unsympathising, made but little impression. The stateliness of their worship, their perfect organisation, their love for order and implicit obedience failed to touch the Northman's heart. Just what Augustine and Paulinus and their disciples lacked, Aidan and the Celtic school of teachers possessed. The tireless tenderness, the deep and wide sympathy of the Irish and Scottish preachers touched the hearts of the wild Engle and Saxon in a way the Roman missionary of the type of Augustine and Paulinus never succeeded in doing. That burning, tender love, kindled by the spirit of the crucified Lord, which lived in the souls of men like Aidan, a love which embraced all that the Crucified had made—beasts of the field and birds of the air; a love which claimed brotherhood with all things created; a love which understood and chose to share the lot of the poor, the weak, the suffering—this it was which attracted so many with its boundless sympathy. Their awful severity towards all wrong-doing, alternated with this deep and broad tenderness, took by storm the untutored hearts of the North folk conquerors. In estimating the characteristic features of Roman and Celtic Christianity in the seventh century, when the victorious Engle and Saxon settlers in Britain were induced to adopt the faith of Jesus, it must be borne in mind too that in addition to those pre-eminent gifts of sympathy and enthusiasm which especially distinguished Aidan and the Celtic preachers, their homes in Ireland at this period were world-renowned centres of learning, whither resorted crowds of disciples from all parts of Central and Northern Europe. There is no doubt but that Celtic Christianity was somewhat emotional, but behind the emotion in those strange monastic homes, where men like Columba and Columban, Aidan, and, somewhat later, Cuthbert, were trained, deep and varied learning was successfully cultivated. The typical Celtic saint was no mere fervid preacher.

Progress of Celtic Christianity among the North Folk Conquerors.—In spite of the bitter and restless enmity which continued to exist between the remnant of the ancient British people who had found a refuge among the mountain fastnesses of Wales or Cumberland, and the Northmen conquerors of the island, in spite of the bloody and ceaseless feuds which separated the kindred tribes of the conquerors, Christianity kept on making a steady, rapid progress in well-nigh all the districts of the island. But most of this early evangelising work, we must ever remember, was done by Celtic rather than by Roman mission-agencies. The stream of the divine word, which reached in succession all the Pagan settlements of the Northmen, flowed rather from the *northern* than from the *southern* part of the island—from Iona, the monastery of Columba, on the Scottish coast, and from Lindisfarne, on the Northumbrian coast the monastery of Aidan, rather than from Canterbury and the Kentish settlements of Augustine and his companions and successors.

Briefly to sum up, about the year 655 the victory of Christianity over Paganism the worship of the Scandinavian gods, introduced by the North folk, was virtually won. The work had taken some sixty years. Between the Firth of Forth and the Humber Christianity had become a great power. Among the Engles of the midland counties, in the great province roughly known as Mercia, the faith was making steady progress under the care of a line of earnest and enthusiastic Celtic missionaries trained in the school of Aidan. The same school was busily at work among the Engle peoples of East Anglia, and the East Saxons of Essex and Middlesex. In Wessex, including all the southern and western counties, the progress of Christianity was slower, but here too the Northumbrian Celtic teachers, who looked back on Aidan and Columba as their spiritual ancestors, were gradually making centres whence the old Christian faith was taught. Kent and portions of the counties immediately bordering had already received the faith in the somewhat different form as taught in Rome, but this Roman influence was little felt outside the

Jutish kingdom of Kent where Augustine had lived and died.

Influence of Women in Early Christian Work. —After these sixty years a new influence, the influence of women in the work of spreading Christianity in England sprang up (we must henceforth generally use the name England when we speak of Britain).

The conquerors of Britain, springing from kindred tribes originally located on the shores of the Baltic and in the north of Germany, may be generally divided into three tribes. The Jutes, the smaller of the three and the first comers, took possession of Kent and the Isle of Wight; the West Saxons the south and western districts of the island as far as Wales; the north and centre and east were occupied by Engles or Angles. The whole people became known as Engle or Anglo-Saxons, and eventually the conquerors of the North and Midlands gave their name to that mighty empire on which the sun never sets—Engle-Land, England.

The new faith possessed an extraordinary attraction for the women of the North folk. We hear of many of them devoting themselves to the task of winning and then training up new converts, and to the various works of charity and help enjoined by the Christian religion. With these earnest women converts were found some of the highest rank—not a few daughters and sisters of the kings and chieftains of the conquerors. Among these Hilda, a princess of the royal house of the Northern Engles, was conspicuous not only for her fervour of devotion, but for her wisdom and ability. About the year 657 this Hilda became abbess of the Monastery of Whitby, one of the more famous of the religious communities which rapidly sprang up among the now Christianised Engle tribes.

As the Holy House of Hilda at Whitby was a conspicuous example of these early religious houses which played so great a part in Christianising the England of the North folk, we will give a description of this community. Around the wooden structure of the church were dwellings for the abbess

and her nuns and the many servants employed in agriculture. Further still from the church another group of buildings, where the monks of the community who were employed in mission work had their habitation.

These early religious houses were frequently, as was the case at Whitby, *double monasteries* as they have been termed. These singular communities were Celtic in origin, and were probably in the first instance the foundation of St Bridget, the famous Irish saint who flourished A.D. 450-523. In her "double" monastery of Kildare we find the prototype of the many early houses in Ireland, and the Celtic foundation of Whitby and other famous Celtic communities in England and on the Continent of Europe. In the seventh century (to take some notable examples in England of these double houses) great double establishments of nuns and monks were founded on the model of Hilda's house at Whitby, at Barking, at Repton, and at Wimborne. In the last named the nuns numbered 500. The lady abbess was the acknowledged superior of the whole community of monks as well as of nuns. In all these cases the two sexes were kept rigidly apart. These singular double communities, purely Celtic in origin, flourished with marked success until active missionary work among the Pagan conquerors was completed. They then gradually were superseded by entirely separate houses, monasteries, and nunneries. They (the double houses) were never looked upon with favour by the Latin Church.

The Whitby Monastery of Hilda was a well-known example of these early religious Celtic houses. The broad lands round were cultivated by the Abbey dependants. Forges, barns, farm-buildings of all kinds, alternated with writing and study chambers, made up the widely spreading home of the community, presided over by Hilda. Whitby and other great houses, on the same model in the second half of the seventh century, became a great power in the land; they were important missionary centres; they played the part of schools for the training of both sexes. They were far more than merely retreats for world-weary men and women, they were

also seminaries of learning. The house of Hilda at Whitby won an especial fame, for in it lived Caedmon, originally one of the agricultural dependants of Hilda. Caedmon developed an extraordinary power as a religious poet. He became a monk, and devoted himself to the cultivation of his great powers as a song-man. He had pupils and imitators in his beautiful craft, and several of the poems of Caedmon, or to speak more accurately, of Caedmon's followers, have come down to us under the name generally of the Caedmonic Poems. These sacred songs, the "Genesis," the "Exodus," "Judith," the "Christ," the "Elene," the "Juliana," the "Andreas," the "Dream of the Rood," written roughly in the second half of the seventh and first half of the eighth centuries, played no inconsiderable part in the conversion of the Pagan conquerors of Britain. They were sung often in the long winter evenings in the Mead-halls of the warrior Engles and Saxons, and largely took the place of the old northern sagas and battle-songs which had hitherto formed the bulk of the old literature of the Norsemen.

How the Christian Church in England was organised.—About the year 659 Christianity had made a firm lodgment in most of the conquered districts of Britain.

In Kent, and in Kent alone, the Christian preaching and teaching had been done by Roman monks. Elsewhere Celtic missionaries of the schools of Iona and Lindisfarne had been the principal agents in preaching the religion of Jesus.

After this date the work of the Church in Britain no longer consisted in the evangelisation of heathen people; the victory of Christianity over Paganism had been virtually won, and the new Church of the Engle and Saxon needed to be formally organised. For this work the Celtic missionary, with all his enthusiasm and devotion, was not equipped like the trained ecclesiastic from Rome. As pioneers of a new faith, the Celtic preachers have rarely been equalled in the long story of Christianity. But another set of men, brought up in a different school, were needed to build up the edifice of the Church whose foundations had been so well and solidly laid.

Story of Wilfrid and the Organisation of the Church on the Roman model.—The changes strangely enough began in Northumbria, the very citadel of the Church of the great Celtic missionary, Bishop Aidan, and the principal instrument of the change was a young Engle convert trained in the famous Celtic monastery of Lindisfarne, where his talents, zeal, and industry had attracted the notice of his teachers. In his studies he had read of Rome and admired her immemorial traditions, and under the protection of the Northumbrian Queen Eanfleda, a Kentish princess, he set out for Rome to see with his own eyes the church of his dreams. At Lyons and Gaul he saw for the first time the pomp and stateliness of the Roman ritual, which he contrasted with the plainness and simplicity of the Celtic rites, and on his return from Rome he became attached to the Archbishop of Lyons' person. After three years he returned to his native country with a considerable reputation, and with the ardent desire to introduce the ritual and customs of Rome among the Northumbrian Christian Engles. Wilfrid was supported by the Queen Eanfleda, the Kentish princess who had been brought up in the Roman school, and by others under Roman influences at her court. Wilfrid in the year 661 was appointed, through these influences, Abbot of the important religious House at Ripon. Various minor differences divided the Roman and Celtic schools of teaching, amongst these a difference in the date of keeping the great Easter Feast was prominent. But the real point at issue turned upon the momentous question—were the newly-constituted Churches of England to acknowledge or not the supreme authority of Rome? This supremacy had never been recognised among the Celtic Christians of ancient Britain; never by the Church and the vast monasteries of Ireland; Iona and the Engle missionaries Columba, Aidan, and their disciples maintained the same independence. We have already seen how stoutly the British Bishops of the fugitive remnant of Christians in Wales had resisted the Roman Augustine when he claimed their obedience.

Council of Whitby and the Roman Influences. —It was the seemingly unimportant dispute as to the date of the Easter Feast which brought about the Council of Whitby, whose decisions had so momentous a result in the history of the Church. Owing to the differences in calculating the date of the Easter-tide, the Queen Eanfleda and a portion of the Northumbrian court under Roman direction were still observing the fasting of the Lenten season, while the King Oswiu and most of his thanes were keeping the great Easter Festival. Thus, in the same year, two distinct Easters were kept in the royal Northumbrian household.

To reconcile these differences, a Council was held at Whitby in the year 664. The eloquence and learning of Wilfrid defeated the pleas brought forward by the Celtic bishops, and the king decided in favour of the Roman practice. The victory of Wilfrid at the Council was quickly followed by his elevation to the chief post in the Northern Church, and Wilfrid became the bishop of the whole of the Northern Engles.

Wilfrid's Chequered Career. —At once Wilfrid determined to establish the supremacy of Rome in the Northumbrian Church. He made no attempt to conciliate the Celtic bishops, and removing the old seat of the bishops to York, he even declined to be consecrated by any of the existing Engle or Saxon prelates, classing them one and all as schismatics, alluding to the "Easter" and other Celtic usages. With great pomp and ceremony he was consecrated at Compiégne in Gaul to his great office as Bishop of York.

It must not, however, be supposed that Wilfrid was suffered to carry out his plans for reducing the Celtic Church to the Roman obedience without opposition.

During a long and momentous life-work, ever supported by enthusiastic friends and confronted by relentless enemies, we find him now occupying one of the great offices in the English Church, such as the Bishopric of York, or that of Lichfield. as Bishop of Central England (Mercia); now we find him a prisoner in disgrace; now he appears a devoted and successful missionary in Pagan Frisia, or among the still

heathen South Saxons; now an honoured guest of the Pope at Rome; now an accused and persecuted ecclesiastic at the tribunal of the same mighty Pontiff, but ever the same indomitable fervid spirit, ever intensely convinced that the fortunes of the English Church of the future were closely bound up with its acknowledgment of and implicit obedience to Rome and her Bishop.

This great ecclesiastic, after experiencing many and startling changes of fortune, died Bishop of Hexham in the Northumbrian realm, full of years and honours, surrounded by extraordinary veneration. He lived to see the great object of his life-work — the substitution of Roman for Celtic Christianity in England—to a great measure carried out. Not only before the year 709, when the great figure of Wilfrid passed away, had Roman customs, Romish ritual, Romish trained bishops and high ecclesiastics taken the place generally in the English Church of Celtic men and uses, but the very monasteries, the old strongholds of the Celtic Church, were gradually but surely changing too. The introduction of the Italian Benedictine rule into one after the other of the religious communities, which in the seventh and eighth centuries played so important a part in the new religious life of England, was not the least of the many changes brought about by the untiring zeal and splendid abilities of this eminent Churchman.

Work of Theodore of Canterbury in the South-West (also a friend of Roman usage). While Wilfrid was successfully, in the face of unnumbered difficulties, carrying out the main object of his life-work in the northern and central districts of the island, a similar work was effected in the south and west of England by other Roman agents of a different type to the famous Engle ecclesiastic we have just been dwelling upon.

In Canterbury, the home and original seat of Augustine's work, for some seventy years, six prelates had followed the first Roman missionary archbishop, good and devout souls, but not men of conspicuous ability, and whose influence was little felt beyond the comparatively narrow limits of Jutish Kent. It

was in the year 668, by the arrangement of the Roman Pope Vitalian, that an Asiatic Greek renowned for his vast learning and his skill in ruling men, named Theodore of Tarsus, was appointed to the See of Canterbury. He was accompanied to England by his friend Hadrian, an African by birth, who too had justly acquired a wide reputation for varied and extensive knowledge, and to whom in the first instance the See of Canterbury had been offered. Theodore was sixty-seven years old when he undertook the charge of the distant English diocese, which since the days of Gregory and Augustine had been anxiously watched over by Rome.

For some twenty-two years these two aged foreign priests, Theodore the archbishop and Hadrian the scholar, worked together unweariedly and with great success. Hadrian raised Canterbury into the position of an important seminary of learning, which became renowned as a great teaching centre all over Europe. From Canterbury issued teachers into the monastic homes of England, and the Roman spirit naturally was impressed on the many centres where these Canterbury pupils of Hadrian worked.

Theodore's labours were mainly directed to organising the Church in which he claimed the principal position. Before his time a few bishops presiding over vast sees independent one of another, made up with a certain number of monasteries and nunneries, and the Christian converts from the Engle and Saxon peoples, the Church in the island. Through Theodore's work these scattered units were welded into one Church owing obedience to Canterbury, and through Canterbury acknowledging a sort of obedience to Rome, whose rites they adopted and whose usages they followed.

Feud between Theodore and Wilfrid — The Feud healed.—When Theodore became Archbishop, and Hadrian, his friend, the master of the Canterbury school in 668, Wilfrid had been for several years playing the part we have already described as Rome's pioneer in the northern parts of England.

Between Theodore and Wilfrid, although both were work-

ing for the same end, the establishment throughout England of the Roman supremacy, a long-drawn-out feud existed, the causes of which are somewhat obscure—probably some mutual jealousy and distrust on the part of these great Church leaders was the real basis of the antagonism. Be this how it may, the feud was eventually healed, and Theodore acknowledged that he had done the great Roman champion, Wilfrid, grave wrong, and during the latter years of his life made him all the amends in his power, and a warm friendship took the place of the old mutual dislike and distrust.

Before the year 690 when Theodore died, Roman order and discipline, and Roman uses had generally been adopted throughout the churches of England, Celtic independence in ecclesiastical matters had become a thing of the past.

Roman Usages generally adopted—Organisation of Theodore—Church Building.—The formal organisation of the Church in this island is attributed to Archbishop Theodore. The division into many dioceses was his work. In the north three sub-divisions were made, and this, no doubt, was one of the causes of grave disagreement between him and Wilfrid, who resented his great Engle bishopric being partly taken from under his control. In the midland, eastern, and southern districts, some fourteen bishoprics were established, and with certain modifications and a few changes—the more important of which belong to the second half of the nineteenth century—the jurisdictions of these seventeen dioceses have undergone, comparatively speaking, but little change during the twelve centuries which have passed since Theodore first mapped them out.

This age also witnessed a great development in church building and church decoration. Very simple and plain were the Celtic oratories and monasteries. It was the Roman spirit which suggested buildings of a very different character. The more important of these buildings were the work of the great northern Bishop Wilfrid. The basilica at Ripon was like nothing which had been seen as yet in England. Hexham Abbey with its deep-dug solid foundations, its crypt, its porches

and pillars, its lofty towers, was long looked upon as the most stately house of God on this side the Alps. Many art treasures, such as splendidly illuminated copies of the Scriptures, such as carved and gilded shrines, precious reliquaries, were collected and laid up in these great houses of prayer. Masons, glaziers, painters, were brought from Italy and Southern Gaul to carry out these many and various works.

Disappearance of Celtic Christianity from England.—In face of the organisation of Roman Christianity under the direction of such men as Theodore and Hadrian in the south and midlands, and Wilfrid in the north, Celtic Christianity seemed to melt away. Considering the extraordinary success of the missionary preachers and the wide extent over which its converts were spread, at one period including well-nigh the whole of the island save Wales and Kent, the resistance it offered to the rival Church of Rome was apparently very slight. The conversion of Pagan England was virtually the work of the Celtic missionaries. Roughly speaking, this was accomplished in about half a century, and then their work was over. Before another half century had run its course, the Roman organisation and Roman uses were almost universal.

What Rome and its teachers could not accomplish, the burning enthusiasm, the impassioned preaching, the tender love, the asceticism and self-denial of the Irish (Celtic) teachers effected. Their presentment of Christianity touched the hearts of the Northmen conquerors, and these untutored Saxon and Engles accepted the religion of these fervid and devoted men. Then Rome and its trained teachers stepped in and reaped the harvest, and so the Celtic Church rapidly disappeared, leaving little trace behind. Cuthbert, who passed away A.D. 687, and Chad, who died in the year 672, the former in Northumbria, the latter in the Midlands (Mercia), are striking instances of these strange powerful teachers. As preachers and evangelists they were unrivalled. Their loved memory was preserved for centuries among the people where they worked. As bishops, for they both were called to the Episcopate in later life, they

were less successful, being utterly devoid of ambition, and wanting all power to organise the churches they had founded. They offered no opposition to Theodore and his pretensions, and made no real effort to maintain the traditions of the Church in which they had been trained. The rapid and utter collapse of the Celtic Church, which had really converted Pagan England, will, however, always remain somewhat of a problem for the historian—whose work, however, is simply to record the fact.

Looking back from the vantage-ground of a later age, when the lapse of many centuries had effaced all bitter feeling, the historian is sensible that the Celtic collapse was well and wisely ordered—for had the Celtic Church followed up its early successes and succeeded in establishing the peculiar form of Christianity practised in Ireland and in the Scottish and Northumbrian offshoots of Ireland, England would have been isolated from the religious unity of Western Christendom. It would, too, have propagated a schism in the Christianity of the island. This was all averted by the rapid victory of Rome. From the close of the seventh century there was but one church in England, and that church was in communion with Rome and with all the great churches of the West.

The century and a half which preceded the death of the great Frankish Emperor Charlemagne, A.D. 814, was in many respects a wonderful age for England. It had witnessed the completion of the triumph of the Celtic preachers over the Paganism of the Northmen conquerors of the island, and of the strange, quiet substitution of a perfectly different form of Christianity in the place of the Christianity taught by the Celtic teachers. We have seen how the ritual, the usages, and the government of Rome with extraordinary rapidity were adopted well-nigh throughout the whole island. The same period had witnessed the sudden rise of a school of poetry (that of Caedmon) in the north of the island, which enormously aided the spread of Christian thoughts and Christian ideas. It had witnessed the equally sudden rise of a great

school of learning in the south of the island under the influence of Rome. We must briefly relate how this second school of learning in the south arose.

Schools of Canterbury and Malmesbury, and Cultivation of Classic Literature.—One of the earliest and most important works undertaken by the Roman-trained Archbishop Theodore and his friend and assistant Hadrian, was the establishment of a great school at Canterbury. This became, before the close of the seventh century, a famous centre of scholarship. The learning cultivated at Canterbury by no means was confined to theology, but embraced such subjects as history, poetry and science. The most famous pupil of the early Canterbury school was Aldhelm, a kinsman of the Royal Saxon House which bore sway in Wessex. Aldhelm became Abbot of Malmesbury (Wiltshire), and in his later years Bishop of the vast southern diocese of Sherborne, but it was in connection with his work in Malmesbury Abbey that Aldhelm is best known. There he founded a great school of learning, which for many years rivalled Canterbury—and which in Aldhelm's life attracted a crowd of monks and students. Its influence in the West and South of England as a school for the propagation of Roman rites and customs can hardly be exaggerated. A taste for Italian and classic literature became widely diffused among the many monasteries which sprang up during this century among the Northern conquerors. Nor was this zeal for classic literature, as well as for theological studies, confined to the religious Houses which flourished in what may be termed the sphere of influence more immediately belonging to Canterbury and Malmesbury in the southern and western districts of England, but it spread rapidly among the monasteries and convents in Northumbria and the more northern districts of the island.

Benedict Biscop's indefatigable labours in introducing Church-building, Art Works and Books.—Alongside of Theodore and Hadrian, of Wilfrid and of Aldhelm, must be placed another indefatigable scholar, who contributed not a little to the marvellous progress in learning for

which this strange age is famous.—***Benedict Biscop,*** whose career may be dated between A.D. 628 and A.D. 689. He was an Engle of noble birth, and in early life a friend and companion of Wilfrid. A visit to Rome impressed this young Christian Northman with an ardent desire to introduce among his fellow-countrymen churches and shrines more noble and dignified than the rude straw thatched oratories and poor wooden churches which had contented the Celtic missionaries whose preaching had converted his Pagan nation into a Christian community. Benedict Biscop became a scholar-monk of great learning, and his high birth and connections gave him marked influence among his countrymen. He visited Rome and Italy several times, bringing back with him a rich store of books and relics, and all kinds of works of art dear to churchmen, and also companies of workmen who could build, who could even reproduce the beautiful church furniture of Italy. Thanks to the unwearied zeal of Benedict Biscop, numbers of these skilled artificers came to England where the newly awakened enthusiasm for Christianity, and the taste for learning kindled in such schools as Canterbury and Malmesbury found them abundant occupation. Among them were cunning artists in marble and stone, men even skilled in glass-making, and capable of building and adorning such churches as he had seen and wondered at on the other side the Alps, and in Southern Gaul, but perhaps the most notable of the achievements of this famous travelled monk-scholar and artist, who deservedly ranks among the makers of the Church of England, was the very considerable collection of books of every kind which he brought over from the Continent of Europe to England. It was Benedict Biscop more than any other who taught the monk of his day that a well-stocked library was an indispensable adjunct to every well-ordered religious house.

The Venerable Bede—His life at Yarrow—His great influence on the learning of his age in England.—Among the monasteries which Benedict Biscop helped to found was one at the mouth of the river Tyne, subsequently known as the community of Yarrow. In this House was

brought up a novice afterwards honoured in all the churches of Europe under the name of ***Bede***—A.D. 673 to A.D. 735. Bede dwelt the whole of his life in that Northumbrian monastery by the Tyne, and although he accepted no special dignity or honour, he has left behind him a more enduring name than did even Theodore or Wilfrid. In his own life-time, however, it became noised abroad that a teacher of rare power and vast learning was dwelling in the "House by the Tyne," and a crowd of pupils for years flocked to hear him, but he is best remembered by his writings, numerous and varied. Some of them which treat of history and biography have endured for well-nigh twelve hundred years, and are still read and studied by all sorts and conditions of men. When Bede died in 735, his famous Yarrow school was transferred to York, where Bede's pupils carried on his good work, and for some eighty or more years all through the eighth century, the York School was renowned in Western Europe. This famous school kept on increasing in importance. Two of the Archbishops of York at that time are especially notorious for their work in connection with this celebrated seminary, which with its library and teachers positively gave an impulse to learning throughout all Western Christendom. The names of these prelates were Egbert and Albert.

Among the pupils of York was one who subsequently laid the foundations of his greatness as a teacher there, and from the York School passed into the service of the Emperor Charles the Great, generally known as Charlemagne. This was Alcuin, who for years acted as Minister of Education to the mighty Frankish Emperor.

The three principal Divisions of England—North Engles, Middle Engles, West Saxon.—During this century and a half of steady Christian progress England may be said to have been roughly divided into three states inhabited by different divisions or tribes of the Northmen conquerors. The lands north of the Humber, Northumbria, including most of Yorkshire, by the *North Engles*. The centre of England, Mercia, by a branch of the same tribe, generally

known as the *Middle Engles*. The south and western districts to the borders of Wales, where still dwelt the remnant of the conquered Celtic Britons, were occupied by another tribe of Northmen termed Saxons, *West Saxons*, from the especial position they occupied in the island. They stamped their name upon all the southern and western districts—henceforth known as Wessex. Under their rule passed the Jutish settlement of Kent. The *East Saxons*, who had taken possession of the districts lying to the north of London and south of the Wash, known in later times as the Eastern counties, now were incorporated in the Wessex division, now in the Mid Engle division of Mercia, as the influence of their powerful neighbours, the Mercian and Wessex princes, alternately waned or became supreme. From a comparatively early date the East Saxons ceased to have a separate existence. Their territory being quickly merged in the dominion of their more powerful neighbours on the west (Mercia), or on the south-west (Wessex).

How the Church gradually welded the three divisions into one people.—Thus whilst England during this period (seventh and eighth centuries) was apparently split into three distinct kingdoms, with their jealousies and rivalries, one bond really was welding the whole island together, and gradually uniting the several tribes into one people. Each of the divisions was attached with greater or less earnestness to Christianity, and we have seen how one form of this Christianity had been adopted—that generally adopted on the Continent of Europe, and known as Roman.

This Church which formed the great bond of union between the several states which made up the England of the seventh and eighth centuries was at this early period largely monastic in its organisation. A net-work of religious houses, more or less covered the whole land. From the monastic centres priests went forth to baptise, to preach and to carry out all the ceremonies of worship, and, when their work was temporarily done, they returned to their "Houses."

The monasteries were for a considerable period the real centres

of English Christianity. The parochial organisation gradually grew up alongside these communities, the missionary monks, as time went on, becoming resident parish priests, and before the last years of the eighth century the "parish priest" was well known in many districts of England. These religious houses possessed a vast influence, and were centres of very real and earnest religious life. They were especially in favour with royal and noble persons among the Northmen, many of whom we find were willing to give up their earthly positions and to throw in their lot with the nameless brethren of a monastic community.

These communities were, in not a few cases, composed of women drawn largely from the higher ranks of the Northmen conquerors. In the monasteries much that lay outside purely religious teaching was cultivated. Agriculture—the reclaiming of large tracks of fen and forest lands—was especially the object of their care. But above all "Letters" found a congenial home in these religious centres. Schools for various branches of study were universal in these prayer homes, men who had studied at York, Canterbury, and Malmesbury reproduced on a smaller scale these famous seminaries. In the eighth century learning of various kinds had become so generally diffused that England, which so lately had been known as a scene of wild disorder and confusion, became celebrated throughout Western Christendom as "a Fountain of Light."

Egbert the West-Saxon acknowledged generally as over-Lord of England.—In the course of the first thirty years of the ninth century, the great bar to the progress of the island—the tribal divisions—was removed, and we find the West-Saxon King Egbert acknowledged as sovereign of the whole island, Egbert the West-Saxon becoming King of Wessex in A.D. 802. In 815 most of the poor remnant of the ancient British in Cornwall and Wales acknowledged his supremacy. Engle Mercia, including the whole of Central England acknowledged his over-Lordship in 828, and very shortly after even distant Northumbria submitted generally to him as over-Lord.

The Coming of the Viking.—But to this period of wonderful progress in the Church life of England there came a startling and somewhat sudden close. A dark storm-cloud had arisen in a quarter whence no one looked for danger. The Danish invasion, with all its terrible consequences, in the ninth century, put a stop to all Christian and social progress in England, and for a time even threatened the very existence of Christianity in the island. Who now were these famous sea-robbers who in the ninth century with their desolating raids so nearly succeeded in effacing all Christian life with its wonderful civilising results, in England, and on the Continent of Europe?

Who the Vikings were.—As far as we can gather from contemporary records, these Danes as they were called in England, Northmen as they were generally named on the Continent, Ostmen as they were termed in Ireland, were a Scandinavian race, whose home and language was really the same as the home and language of the Engle conquerors of Britain in the sixth century. As these peoples increased in numbers in their North Sea and Baltic washed countries, their native land poor and barren became gradually insufficient for the needs of an ever-growing population. The knowledge that to the south lay vast countries rich and prosperous attracted this war-loving race to try their fortunes in these unknown lands. The first bands of sea-robbers found an easy access to the heart of Gaul and Germany through the great rivers which emptied themselves into the North Sea and the Atlantic Ocean, and their report of plunder easily acquired, induced other bands of freebooters to try their fortunes. The hope of plunder seems to have been the earliest motive which inspired the Danish and Northmen raids.

The popular name given to these dread Northern pirates —*Vikings*—men of the creek or the bay, is derived from the Danish word "vik," a bay or creek. The earliest appearance of these terrible strangers in England was in A.D. 787 on the West Saxon shores. The first story of murder and rapine was long preserved as a memorable tradition. Six

years later, a fierce band sacked and plundered the Holy House of Lindisfarne in Northumberland, where Aidan and Cuthbert had taught; the following year 794 witnessed the destruction of Yarrow where Bede had lived and died, and of other "Houses" on the river Wear. Ireland was especially selected for the earlier depredations of the Vikings, the mighty monasteries of Ireland and their treasures offering a rich and easy prize to these free-booters of the sea. The Emperor Charlemagne, shortly before his death A.D. 814, gazing at the dark sails of some Viking ships visible from his palace at Narbonne, is said to have wept at the misery and woe which he foresaw these daring pirates would probably work in days to come.

Viking Raids in North and Central Europe. —The woe foreseen by the mighty Frankish Emperor came only too speedily. The story of the reign of his son and successor, the Emperor Louis le Débonnaire, is a story of disaster. No real resistance was offered to the ever-recurring raids of the Northmen Vikings. When Louis died in A.D. 841, the awful depredations of the sea pirates grew more and more frequent. Their fleets sailed year by year up the great river roads of Europe far into the interior. We read first of the sack of Rouen on the Seine, and the desolation of a great part of Northern Gaul, the defenceless great monasteries being ever the first places attacked. Then the Loire on the west was sailed up, and the beautiful and wealthy Loire country desolated. Then the Seine country south of Rouen, as far as Paris. Far to the south, the black Viking sails were seen on the river Garonne. In the north the rivers Scheldt and the Rhine and the Elbe bore the same cruel robber-hordes into the heart of Germany. Between the years 850-860, so generally did the fear of the Viking sink into the hearts of the Frankish people, that into the Gallican liturgies a new supplication was formally introduced: "From the wild rage of the Northmen, Good Lord, deliver us."

The bitter hostility of the Pagan Vikings to Christianity.—Before the year 866 had run its course,

the Northmen pirates were virtually masters of the long stretch of coast between Denmark and Jutland in the north to the river Garonne and the south of France. Far up the broad water courses of the Scheldt, the Meuse, the Rhine and the Elbe, the Seine, the Loire, and the Garonne, reached the supremacy of the wild Northmen. And be it remembered wherever these robbers came the religion of the Crucified disappeared, and the old Pagan worship of Woden and Thor reigned in its place. Ruins of desecrated abbeys, wrecked monasteries and nunneries, marked their dreaded passage; rare indeed for a long period was the instance of any Pagan Viking adopting the religion of the plundered races. This was the great difference between these Northmen and the races from the North who had preceded them some two centuries earlier as conquerors. The Frank, the Saxon, the Jute, and the Engle were soon won over to the religion of the conquered, and speedily became devoted adherents to the Christianity professed by the peoples whose lands they had appropriated.

Not so the Danish Vikings. Their aim apparently was *to totally uproot Christianity*. The older Vikings absolutely *hated* the religion of Jesus. The first object of their destructive fury was ever the Monastery and the House of God, and this not alone because in these sacred enclosures were stored up treasures of all kinds, but because they were citadels of a religion which they detested.

England at first comparatively little injured by the Viking raids.—What now of England during these earlier years of the terrible Viking piracy? Singularly enough, during the first sixty or more years of rapine and conquest, it was in England where they worked least mischief. England was inhabited by a brave race of Northmen, kinsmen, as it seems, of these pirate clans. The Engle and the Saxon belonged to a fighting race. The Franks and other kindred stocks, who had previously occupied Gaul and Germany, had become largely mingled with the old Roman provincials, and were by no means the same hardy warrior race as the "English."

Another and special source of "English" strength and unity was *the Church*, which possessed extraordinary influence and vitality in this island. Christianity, as we have shown, mainly owing to the strong winning power of the Celtic missionaries, had received a warm welcome and a rapid adoption among the Engle-Saxon conquerors. So rapid and so marvellous had been the growth of the religion of Jesus, that England as a Christian nation, as a centre of learning and education, had acquired a well-deserved fame and almost a unique position among the nations of the Continent of Europe.

The Church in England was a special source of strength and unity of action, and we read how King Egbert, who was the first to unite the several kingdoms into one, in A.D. 838 made a solemn pact with the Church, with a view to strengthen the Government and its powers of resistance to foreign attack. While Egbert lived, the Dane was kept at bay, but the great king died in A.D. 839, and from that date began the real harrying of England.

The Vikings determine England must be conquered.—A.D. 851 seems to have been *the* year of terror: then Canterbury and its monastery and famous schools were sacked; London too, then growing into importance, was occupied, and we read of as many as 350 ships taking part in this fatal invasion. The storm-cloud had at last burst upon England.

We must dwell a little here. For some time before the middle of the ninth century the Viking power had become no mere succession of more or less organised raids for plunder. The chieftains who guided the Viking policy began to be conscious that England with its sturdy, and on the whole successful resistance, was the barrier to the establishment of a great Viking Pagan Empire in the North of Europe. Sixty or seventy years of predatory warfare had given them no permanent foothold in England. Ireland was in great measure theirs, but it was separated from their Frankish and German conquests by England, which was intensely hostile to their policy, and above all to their Paganism. It has been well

urged that the conquest of England was imperatively needed to support their conquests to the eastward and westward. Could England have been mastered, Christendom would have seen the rising of a power in its northern borders which might have changed the fortunes, perhaps the religion, of the Western World. The Vikings in the middle of the ninth century were aware that in the North, England and her Church were the centre and the chief inspirer of the religion they longed to ruin. How nearly they accomplished their dread purpose we must briefly relate. Their plans were laid with rare skill. The weakest quarter of the great island was its northern provinces. Northumbria, proud of its splendid history and its original independence, resented the supremacy of Wessex and its provinces, and was only half-hearted in its allegiance. It was, too, split with external dissensions.

The Danish Vikings invade England in force—They conquer Northumbria.—A Viking leader of royal descent, renowned even in that dread catalogue of sea-robbers, headed the Danish invading force. It wintered in East Anglia which, from its situation on the Eastern seaboard, had for many years been exposed to Danish inroads, and had in fact become largely Danish. In the spring of A.D. 867 the Viking army advanced from East Anglia into Northern England, routed an opposing army of Northumbrians, captured York, and virtually became master of the whole land between the Forth and the Humber. Swift and terrible was its work. All the religious houses of the North were destroyed ; abbeys and churches were burned. Well-nigh every outward vestige of Christianity disappeared in Northumbria. Bishoprics were wiped out, and indeed several centuries passed away before the ruin occasioned by the Danish invasion and conquest of the Northumbrian division of England was repaired. All the precious monastic libraries were destroyed, all the schools vanished, and whereas for well-nigh two centuries Northumbria had been the home of letters and even of culture, the religious centre whence issued the missionary leaders of the centre and south of England, from this time onward until long after the Norman

Conquest, it was the rudest and most ignorant part of England, so thoroughly had the work of the Viking been done. But the conquest of the North was not sufficient, much had to be effected before the island which stood in the way of the Viking projects could be considered really vanquished.

Mercia invaded by the Vikings.—The Wessex king, Ethelred, the grandson of the great Egbert, was still a formidable enemy, and the broad Midland district of Mercia was, too, a formidable Christian stronghold. Ivan, the Viking leader, and his Viking host, Northumbria being now theirs, marched in the course of the year 868 into Mercia. For some time the defence of Mercia was successfully attempted, but before the close of the fatal year 870 the ruin which had befallen the Christianity of Northumbria was shared in by Mercia. The districts lying between the Humber and the Thames were ravaged; the religious houses, the noble abbeys and churches of the Midlands; vast monasteries like Crowland, Peterboro', and Ely were sacked and burned. East Anglia became wholly Danish, and its valiant sub-king, Edmund, was cruelly murdered. Before the close of the year 874, by far the largest half of England had passed under the Viking rule, while Christianity had almost vanished from the North, the Midlands and East of England. It had died literally *of the Danes*.

Only Wessex remained unconquered. All England north of the Thames had been won by the Pagan invaders, the task that remained to them seemed comparatively easy.

Wessex invaded by the Danish Vikings—King Alfred—his wonderful resistance.—After the successful campaign of 870 in Mercia, the Vikings without delay invaded the last remaining districts which still resisted their power, they met, however, with a stout resistance. Ethelred the Wessex king fought several hotly contested battles with varying results. In 871, however, at Meretune (Oxfordshire) the West-Saxons were defeated, and Ethelred received a mortal wound. His sons were but children, and his brother *Alfred*, who had been fighting during the desperate war of

defence by his side, was at once chosen king, but the Crown of England, or rather what was left of England, seemed, indeed, a heritage of sorrow.

At first the war dragged on with varying results, Alfred and his little army fighting bravely on, but as it seemed gradually driven back, and the end seemed not far off. In spite of the gallant resistance, the iron ring of the Viking invaders slowly encircled the scanty forces of Alfred. The black ships of the Danes sailed up the Severn, and a marshy district in Somerset, whither the King of Wessex had retreated with his dispirited forces, was well-nigh the only spot in England which had not submitted to the invader. All seemed lost. Wessex was utterly exhausted, its land harried, its cities pillaged, its forces quite unable to cope with the invaders, whose numbers, constantly recruited with fresh bands of Vikings from the North, seemed to increase with every battle. But it was in these dreary Somerset marshes that Alfred thought out the plan of the last campaign that was to save the Christianity of England. In the year 878 the men of Wessex issuing from their marsh stronghold again took the field, this time with a different result. His soldiers, no doubt, fought with splendid courage, the courage of despair, but the chief factor in the victory and its wonderful results no doubt was the great generalship displayed by Alfred. The Vikings were completely defeated at Ethandune, near the modern Westbury, and the victory was quickly followed up, and the beaten Danes were compelled to surrender, and as the price of their lives agreed to quit England or to become Christians.

Never before had such a victory been won over the Pagan invaders. It was absolutely decisive, and indeed for a time finished the war, and Wessex and Western Mercia were saved from the Danes. A treaty was concluded between Alfred and the Vikings at Wedmore in Somerset. This was the same year, a memorable year for England, A.D. 878.

King Alfred after his victory and pact with the Danish Vikings.—The Danish power never recovered this crushing defeat. Their ravages, it is true, long continued to

afflict France and the European continent. Northumbria, East Anglia, and a large part of Mercia still were theirs. *But the spell of their awful name was broken.* They had signally failed in their great enterprise to conquer South-western England, and from the date of Alfred's victory and its consequences in 878, their vast power gradually declined, and their invading forces were rolled back.

But it was a well-nigh ruined England after all that the hero-king, loved of Englishmen, had now to rule over, and to build up again. Half of the island remained for long years in the power of the Danes, and Alfred's "half" was but a desolate impoverished land. His work of restoration of his ruined kingdom claims even more admiration than the splendid campaign in which he delivered his southern kingdom from the victorious invader. The Church, whose fortunes we have here to relate, had especially suffered in the deadly contest. The king's own words best picture its sorry plight. He is of course writing of the Wessex and Mercia (the southern, western, and midland districts) over which he ruled after the Peace and Treaty of Wedmore; the rest of England, still under the Danish power, was in a far worse condition, be it remembered.

Alfred's description of the Church after his victory and pact with the Danes.—Alfred's striking picture of the state of the Church, at the close of the ninth century, occurs in his preface to the "Regula Pastoralis" of Gregory the Great, addressed to Bishop Wulfsig of Sherborne: "I wish thee to know," wrote the king, "that it comes very often in my mind what wise men there were in England, both laymen and ecclesiastics, and how happy those times were to England;" (that is the times before the coming of the Vikings) . . . "the sacred profession was diligent, both to teach and to learn, and in all the offices which they should do to God. Men from abroad sought wisdom and learning in this country" (though we must *now* go out of it to obtain knowledge if we wish to have it). . . . "So clean was it fallen out of

England that there were very few on this side the Humber who understood their service in English, or were able to translate a Latin Epistle into English. . . . So few such there were that I cannot think of a single instance south of the Thames when I began to reign. . . . Thanks be to God that we have now some teachers in our stalls." . . . Again he wrote, "When I remembered all this, then I thought also I saw, *before it was all spoiled and burnt*, how the churches throughout the English nation were filled with treasures and Books, and also with a great multitude of God's servants."

Such was the state of England when Alfred succeeded in arresting the wave of Viking conquest, the northern half of the island, however, being apparently irretrievably lost to the Pagan Danes. In the southern half which he had with his splendid resistance preserved, the schools and libraries, the monasteries, the churches, were sacked and burned, those ministers of the Christian religion who remained, sunk in terrible ignorance. A hard task, indeed, had Alfred set himself when he proceeded to build up the ruins of the once great Church in that portion of England which he had recovered from the Pagan Danish invaders.

The rebuilding of the Church of England by Alfred.—Thus for the second time the Church was ruined in this island. Early in the seventh century the Celtic missionaries undertook the work of rebuilding. At the close of the ninth century Alfred and his counsellors took in hand the work again.

The great Anglo-Saxon monarch ruled for some twenty-three years after his victorious campaign and the peace of Wedmore. Fifteen of these only were years of "stillness," the other years were a war-harassed period in which the Danish Vikings endeavoured, but in vain, to recover their lost supremacy. In this interrupted period much was done in the way of restoration, and before, worn out with ceaseless cares and restless work, the king passed away still comparatively young. The Church had entered upon its third period of influence A.D. 901. Many of the churches had been rebuilt; some of

the monasteries had been restored; libraries had again been established; a flourishing vernacular literature had sprung into existence; a little band of real scholars, able practical men, at the head of whom stood Plegmund, the Archbishop of Canterbury, surrounded the king. The names of some of the men of this group deserve to be had in remembrance as among the makers of the Church of England. They comprise—besides Plegmund—Asser, Bishop of Sherborne; Werfrith, Bishop of Worcester; Grimbald, the king's mass-priest or chaplain; Athelstan, another chaplain; the English king, Alfred, was their patron and director. These set themselves to reform, rebuild, and to reorganise the whole ecclesiastical system. Latin was once more studied, and the Church again became the centre of education and of the beneficent work designed for the welfare of the people. Amid all the successful labours of Alfred in his task of restoring the prosperity of England, his first care was to build up a strong church which could guide and influence, which could inspire men with high aims and a noble purpose. An elaborate code of Church laws was compiled suitable to the sadly altered circumstances of the realm. A portion of the royal revenue was yearly set apart for Church purposes; many schools were established for different ranks and orders of men. Some, but not by any means all of the monastic establishments were refounded, but the king's efforts to restore the ancient system of monasticism were only partially successful. In this second period of Anglo-Saxon rule in England, the Monastery never could be said to have taken firm root in England. It only revived again and became a mighty factor in church-life as we shall see after the coming of the Norman in the latter half of the eleventh century.

The relation of the Church of England with Rome under Alfred and his Successors.—The relation of Alfred and the princes of his House who followed him, with the Church of Rome is interesting and important. In the eighth and ninth centuries, before the Vikings swept away the powerful Church of Wilfrid and Theodore, of Aldhelm, of Bede and the York teachers, the

influence and authority of Rome in England was an undefined one, though none the less real. Alfred and his House, too, evidently looked up to the Pope as the centre of Christianity. They wished to live in close and intimate communion with him. They looked to the Bishop of the See of Rome, with her immemorial traditions, as the supreme arbiter in matters of faith, ever acknowledging in Rome a kind of over-Lordship in the Church. They sent to Rome yearly gifts and money. But here the influence and supremacy of Rome over the Anglo-Saxon Church of the second period ceased. Alfred and his successors were supreme in ecclesiastical matters. We read of no reference to Rome by Alfred. The king and his successors appointed their own nominees to vacant sees. We may then unhesitatingly conclude that the Anglo-Saxon Church was absolutely independent of Rome, although the most intimate relations were ever maintained between the House of Alfred and the Roman pontiffs.

The Church in the time of the Princes of the House of Alfred.—The princes of the House of Alfred who followed the hero-monarch who had saved England and her Church, and had successfully rolled back the Viking power from its onward march of European conquest, were great military chiefs and eminent statesmen, and under such kings as Edward the Elder, Athelstan and Edgar, the dominion of Wessex gradually spread over the entire island, and the Danish supremacy in the North and East by degrees gave place to Anglo-Saxon rule. But during most of the half century which followed Alfred's death the princes who sat on his throne were ceaselessly occupied with warring against the Danish Settlers. They had scant leisure to occupy themselves with ecclesiastical matters. No distinguished prelate, no great scholar or teacher arose in this war-filled period. The Church made little progress in those years; its influence over the life of England was scarcely what might have been expected from the great Church "renaissance" we have chronicled as owing to Alfred's work. Only from the year 942 did the Church begin to display vigour and real

earnestness. In that year a man, who was subsequently distinguished as one of the greatest of the makers of the Church of England, became Abbot of the religious House of Glastonbury.

Dunstan—his great work in the Anglo-Saxon Church.—Dunstan, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, had early given promise of his future distinction. In the reign of Alfred's grandson, King Edmund, he was already known as a profound scholar and artist, and even as a poet; and he justified his appointment as Abbot of the famous Glastonbury by making his monastery a training school which became known far and wide. But it was in the reign of Edgar, surnamed the Peaceful, the son of Edmund, that this great Churchman obtained that commanding influence in Church and State which will ever render famous the name of Dunstan. Edgar's prosperous reign lasted seventeen years, from A.D. 958 to A.D. 975. All this time Dunstan was the one minister and adviser of the Crown; he became Archbishop of Canterbury in succession to his friend Odo in King Edgar's second year. During the short reign of Edward, Edgar's successor, Dunstan remained in power, but when, after Edward's murder at Corfe Castle, Ethelred, surnamed the Unready, became king A.D. 978, Dunstan ceased to be Minister, and passed the remaining ten years of his life in comparative seclusion at Canterbury. Dying in 988, he left behind him a name absolutely unequalled hitherto in the Anglo-Saxon Church. Scant justice has been done to this great Church organiser. Only in quite later years have well-nigh all serious historians recognised the character and scope of his work. As an Educationalist, his successful endeavours have been generally recognised. Schools flourished during his lengthened career, and something of the ancient glory of learning which belonged to the English Church before the coming of the Viking, was restored through the exertions of Dunstan and his co-adjutors. Nor was the greatest of Anglo-Saxon Churchmen less successful in infusing something of his earnest and devoted spirit among the clergy of his day. The work

of Alfred was taken up and diligently carried forward, a stricter discipline was enforced, and from Dunstan's days, the Anglo-Saxon Church recovered most of its ancient power and influence.

He was less successful in his efforts to build up the old monastic system which, as we have already noticed, after the Danish Conquest of the ninth century never again took firm root among the Anglo-Saxon peoples; but thanks to his fostering care, several great and influential monastic establishments —notably at Canterbury, Winchester, Worcester, Abingdon, and Glastonbury—to which great centres important schools were attached, flourished during and after his archiepiscopate.

Picture of the Anglo-Saxon Church as painted in the Canons and Rules of Dunstan.—Some of the grave disciplinary questions which, in the course of the following centuries, so largely occupied the Catholic Church, notably the question respecting the marriage of the clergy, began to be agitated in Dunstan's time, and to the part he took in these disputes something of his later unpopularity among many Church writers must be attributed. He is charged—but the charge is baseless—with persecuting the married clergy; that he shared in the general mediæval condemnation of the married state for ecclesiastics is evident, but there is ample evidence to show that in this matter his policy was gentle and forbearing. Very different indeed was the conduct and policy of Dunstan on this hotly disputed point, from that of his famous disciple, Ethelwold, the Bishop of Winchester, for many of whose severe and oppressive measures probably Dunstan has been held responsible.

The "Canons" put out during his archiepiscopate are very interesting, and throw much light upon ecclesiastical life and duties in the Anglo-Saxon Church in the latter part of the tenth century. The duty of obedience to their superiors in the Church, and loyalty to the rulers in the State, is especially pressed upon the clergy. Every year they were to meet in Synod, and carefully to report upon the spiritual condition of their flocks. They were to come to these Synods with ink and parchment for notes and instructions. They were not

to be litigious, they were to avoid all manifestations of spiritual pride. The priest was to share in no field sports. Reading and study were enjoined. All excesses of the table—a too prevalent vice among the Anglo-Saxon—were to be guarded against. They were to be the teachers of the people. Manual arts even, in which they might give instruction, were to be cultivated. Dunstan himself, we know, was no mean artificer in gold and silver.

The "Churches" were to be treated with extraordinary reverence, to be rigidly kept for divine services. The greatest care in all ritual matters was to be observed. Many directions were given respecting points of ritual; in the matter too of vestments, service books, chalices, bells, etc., detailed instructions appear. In these canons we find instructions as to reverent burial of the dead. Very careful instructions are given in respect of the blessed sacrament. Fasting is enjoined, vestments were to be worn. A light was always to be burning when Mass was being sung. The materials (never of wood) of which the chalice was to be made, were specified. All things near the altar were to be very cleanly and decently ordered. The hours of service were to be notified by the ringing of the bells of the church; no Mass priest or ministering priest was ever to come within the church door, or into his stall without a stole. A sermon was to be preached every Sunday.

The Homilies, etc., of Elfric—illustrative of the Doctrines of the Anglo-Saxon Church.—A pupil of Dunstan, who shortly after his master's death followed him in the Arch-See, Siric, Bishop of Ramsbury, a small Wessex bishopric, relieved the clergy of this last burden, which pressed very hardly upon not a few of their number, by allowing a collection of *homilies*, to which he had given his official sanction, to be read in lieu of the prescribed sermon. These homilies were composed by Elfric, a very learned monk of the Abingdon Monastery, whom many historians identify with the Elfric who subsequently became Archbishop of Canterbury.

The homilies and other writings of Elfric are of peculiar

importance, as they represent the doctrine of the Anglo-Saxon Church after the work of Dunstan, on various momentous points. They may be looked upon as authoritative, as they received the official sanction of the Primate Siric for their public use by the clergy as homilies to be read in churches. They represented also, without doubt, the teaching of the leading Continental scholars and theologians of the age of Charlemagne and his imperial successors, they were studied and used by the great English Divines at the time of the Reformation in the sixteenth century.

Elfric's Homily on the Eucharist.—We will very briefly dwell on this authoritative Anglo-Saxon exposition of a doctrine which, in later ages, perhaps more than any other, has divided Christian men. For the first eight centuries the Catholic Church, recognising Christ's real Presence in the Eucharist, in some indescribable manner, avoided any definition of the Presence of Christ's body received by the Faithful in the Eucharist. It was only in A.D. 831 that Paschasius Radbertus, a learned monk of the monastery of Old Corbey in Picardy (Gaul), in a treatise on the Eucharist, compiled for the use of young scholars under his care, taught the doctrine subsequently known as Transubstantiation [1] (the word Transubstantiation was not invented before the beginning of the twelfth century.)[2] Radbertus' treatise attracted much attention. The statements it contained were stoutly opposed by some of the most learned and accurate theologians of his age. Notably by Johann Scotus Erigena, by Ratramnus, another learned monk of Corbey, and by Rabanus Maurus, the distinguished Archbishop of Mainz, whom in later days Baronius and Bellarmine described as "the brilliant star of Germany," and "as an example of piety and erudition." Elfric, in his

[1] Radbertus' theory however differed from the later Roman conception, for it did not allow the possibility of eating Christ's body by wicked men.

[2] The inventor of the term was Stephen, Bishop of Augustodunum (Autun), the expression occurs in his book "De Sacramento Altaris," written about A.D. 1100. The doctrine was first dogmatically established by the fourth Council of Lateran, A.D. 1215.

various writings and especially in his authoritative homilies, summed up against Paschasius' theory decisively, teaching in respect to the nature of the Presence in the Eucharist, that all was to be understood *spiritually*, acknowledging, however, a change in the bread and wine after consecration, but asserting that the change was only of a mystical and sacramental nature, and that nothing therein was to be understood bodily, writing in such plain words as the following: "It is, as we before said, Christ's body and his blood, *not bodily but spiritually*, ye are not to enquire how it is done, but to hold in your belief that it is done." As this is the doctrine of the great Reformers of the sixteenth century, it is of the highest importance for us to know that in this momentous question *their* teaching is identical with that of the teaching of the powerful and influential Anglo-Saxon Church of Dunstan and his school in the tenth century. This Anglo-Saxon Eucharistic teaching was identical with the teaching of Johann Scotus and Rabanus Maurus, eminent scholars who were pupils or followers of Alcuin, Charlemagne's adviser and minister. And Alcuin, be it remembered, was trained in the school of York (where he became its most famous master), and the York school was *the* school *par excellence* of the great Anglo-Saxon Church before the coming of the Viking. The doctrine here of Elfric was thus no novelty, but was surely inherited from the greatest period of the Anglo-Saxon Church, from men like Archbishop Egbert, master of the famous school of York. Egbert, be it remembered, was the venerable Bede's disciple.

The Anglo-Saxon Liturgy in the Latin Tongue. —The Liturgy of the Anglo-Saxon Church was in *Latin* Much has been urged in favour of prayer and praise ascending to the throne of God in one language, from London on the Thames, and Lyons on the Rhone, from Cologne and Mainz on the Rhine, from Rome on the Tiber. It has been pressed as an ever present witness to the unity of Western Christendom, that so many and varying nationalities should, in their solemn services, use one form of words, one

tongue. It cannot be denied but that this universal use of the Latin tongue, the tongue of Rome, was an indirect but powerful assistance to the gradually increasing pretensions of the Bishop of Rome to a universal, though, certainly at first, an undefined authority over all the churches of the West.

The Latin tongue, which Alfred tells us was a dead and almost unknown language among the ecclesiastics of his time, in the days of Dunstan appears to have been fairly familiar to the majority of the clergy. Still, outside the clergy and monks, very few indeed of the people were acquainted with the Latin language.

To provide for this general ignorance Anglo-Saxon versions of the Lord's Prayer, the Creed and other parts of the Liturgy were prepared. Paraphrases of the Bible, and, as we have seen, authoritative homilies on doctrines and practical subjects were carefully put out by scholars like Elfric. The public teachers were specially enjoined to tell the lay-people the meaning of Prayer and Creed, that they may know what they are praying for, and how they should believe in God.

A strict observance of Sunday was one of the notable features of the Anglo-Saxon Church of the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries. To this rigid observance of Sunday by our Anglo-Saxon ancestors no doubt is partly owing that reverent regard for the Christian Sabbath which distinguishes the England of the nineteenth century. A certain number of feasts and fasts were also observed with great regularity.

The readiness, even the eagerness, on the part of the earlier conquerors belonging indifferently to the Engle, Saxon, or Jutish stocks to receive Christianity, has been already noticed. This love for the religion of the Crucified characterised their descendants, the Anglo-Saxon people, all through their history. On the whole they were emphatically a religious people.

The Danish Vikings again become powerful in England—Sweyn, the Viking, and Canute.—With the accession of Ethelred to the throne, and the removal of Dunstan from the position of Chief Minister of the Crown, A.D. 978, a new and unhappy era began for England. Before

the close of the century once more the Danes became a terror to the Anglo-Saxon people. A large portion of England was inhabited by the descendants of the Viking conquerors of the days of Alfred, who had been left in possession of much of the north and east of England. These Danish settlers were always more or less a source of uneasiness to the Anglo-Saxons, even under the strong rule of the great princes of the House of Alfred. A fresh terror, however, threatened the England of the weak Ethelred. A mighty Viking, Sweyn, after a long career of piracy, became King of Denmark. Several of the more successful raids which again desolated England in the last years of the tenth century were under the immediate direction of this Danish king Sweyn. Several times Ethelred purchased peace from the Danish invader with a heavy ransom. In the year 1013 Sweyn made a descent on England with a most formidable armament, with the view of conquering the whole island and restoring Paganism, for Sweyn had inherited the Viking hate for Christianity. Fearful, says the contemporary chronicler of the dread invasion, were the devastations of this great Pagan host. Once more we read of farms and fields ravaged, of towns being burnt, of the hapless inhabitants being slaughtered. Ethelred fled before the invader and sought refuge in Normandy, and Sweyn, the Dane, was acknowledged king of well-nigh all England. In the hour of his great triumph Sweyn died. The circumstances of his death were mysterious, and for a brief period Ethelred returned, and the army of Sweyn returned home, but in the following year, 1015, Sweyn's son and successor, Canute, returned with a powerful Danish army. The defence of England was not left to the feeble Ethelred; his eldest son Edmund, surnamed Ironside, with splendid gallantry and skill opposed Canute. Ethelred died in 1016, and the hero, Edmund Ironside, succeeded him. With inadequate forces he kept the Danes at bay, and succeeded in holding the southern counties. A treaty was concluded between the Danish and Anglo-Saxon princes, in which England south of the Thames and East Anglia was left to Edmund Ironside.

Canute the Dane becomes an earnest Christian. —But the Anglo-Saxon prince died within a few months, and Canute was without any further bloodshed acknowledged king of all England. Thus in 1016 the long-cherished ambition of the Viking race was gratified, and the great island which had so long and on the whole successfully resisted their power, and which a century and a quarter before had arrested their victorious advance, passed under the rule of the head of the Danish race.

But strange to say the great aim of the Viking policy was abandoned in the hour of their supreme success. King Canute was no sooner firmly seated on the throne of Alfred, than he professed himself an earnest and devoted Christian, and during his reign of nearly twenty years was a faithful and even zealous son of the Church.

On the whole, the nineteen or twenty years was a period of "stillness" for England, and of general prosperity. The Danish King's policy continued the work of the great kings of the House of Alfred, Edward, Edmund, Athelstan, and Edgar, welding together the different divisions of the Anglo-Saxons, the Engle (Mid and North), the Saxon (East and West), and the Jute, the wise Dane being fully conscious that the oneness and unity of the Church of England throughout the island powerfully aided this wise policy. The nationality of the Danish King in addition secured the loyalty of the great mass of Danish settlers in the east and north, but Canute, Dane though he was, became on the throne an Englishman among Englishmen, and, in spite of his Viking descent, a Christian among a Christian people. His favourite minister and adviser was *Godwin*, a thane of West Saxon blood, the father of Harold, afterwards king, who fell in the stricken field of Hastings, A.D. 1066. Nor was Canute's earnestness on behalf of the Christian faith confined to his English dominions. In his Danish realm he showed himself a zealous supporter of Christianity. Several bishops were appointed under his influence for the land of the now fast dying Paganism.

Canute's wise Christian policy in England.—In England his celebrated letter addressed to the primate Ethelnoth, to his suffragans and to the whole English nation, gives an admirable view of the Church policy which Canute steadily pursues all through his reign. The laws of Canute breathe the same spirit. Fear God and honour the king is their opening precept. They repeat much of the legislation of the successors of Alfred. They deal with the reformation of manners, the administration of justice, the strict discharge of all ecclesiastical duties on the one hand by the priests, the strict payment on the other of all ecclesiastical dues by the laymen. The observance of the Lord's Day is earnestly enjoined; heathen superstitions are all to be given up; the Bishop was to be joined with the Earl in the presidentship of the Shire assemblies; rigid impartiality was pressed upon all administration of justice; while the generosity of the great Dane towards the Church was especially conspicuous. A long list of ecclesiastical foundations belong to the reign of Canute. Not a few abbeys and religious houses were built or restored at his expense or owing to his influence. His zeal for Christianity was shared by his Queen, Emma the Norman princess, widow of the Anglo-Saxon King Ethelred, whom he married. No conspicuous Churchman arose in England during the Danish reigns of Canute and his two sons. The names which perhaps meet us most frequently in the chronicles are those of Lyfing the Eloquent, as the Worcester Chronicle styles him, and Archbishop Ethelnoth. Lyfing, who was ever a favourite with Canute, became Bishop of Crediton in Devon, later with that See he held the Bishopric of Cornwall, and later added to these Sees the important Diocese of Worcester. He was the devoted friend of Earl Godwin, but was rather an able statesman than a devoted Churchman. Ethelnoth the Good, Archbishop of Canterbury during many years of the reign, and to whom the famous letter of Canute was addressed, was a plain, honest man, who, with Lyfing and the majority of the leading ecclesiastics at this period, did their duty quietly, carrying on the traditions of the school of the great Dunstan.

The great Anglo-Danish King Canute died A.D. 1035. He was followed in succession by his two sons, Harold Harefoot, A.D. 1036, and Harthacanute, 1039, the last named dying suddenly, the half brother of Harthacanute, Edward, surnamed the Confessor, the son of the Anglo-Saxon King Ethelred and Emma, the Norman princess, who afterwards married Canute, followed him on the throne of England, A.D. 1042. A new era for England and her Church began with Edward the Confessor.

END OF PART I.

Appendix

On the word "Mass"

We find this word in Anglo-Saxon times constantly used. Alfred's chaplain is termed his "Mass Priest." Elfric, above referred to as writer of the famous homilies, *circa* 980-990, begins one of his well-known epistles, "O ye Mass Priests, brethren." Anciently the word "Missa" (English Mass) was often used in a plural form, "Missae." In ancient writers we frequently come across the expression "Missarum Solemnia," this simply signifies "prayer publicly sent up to God." We might render the words, "The solemn offices of religion." As a general term we find the term "Missa" (Mass) even used for *lessons* from the Scripture.

Again an entire service was also termed "Missa," for instance, "missa nocturna" signifies the morning prayers and psalmody before day, the same term "missa" is also used for evening prayers. The "Missa fidelium" means the communion service. As time went on "Missa" (Mass) came to mean only one special service, that of "the Communion." Thus this particular service monopolised a name which once had been common to other services. The derivation and primitive signification of the word "Missa" or "Missae" is

much disputed; the favourite derivation is from the words "Ita missa est," which from ancient times was used in the Latin Church for the dismission of the people at the end of the service. This is the opinion of great ritualists like Isidore and Rabanus Maurus, and is repeated in later times by the learned Benedictine Mabillon. Another interesting derivation, though not supported by like ancient authority, is that "missa" or "missae" simply meant in the first instance any public prayer *sent up* to God. Save in rare instances, the term "missa" was not used in the Greek Church. It may be said to belong to *Latin* Christianity.

At one time in the Reformation of the sixteenth century, Luther and Melancthon appear to have been willing to retain the name and generally the service of the "Mass," if only they might have abolished "private Masses." Private Masses were of two kinds. The *first* was for the most part a private commemoration by the priest, and not a communion. The *second* arose from the persuasion that the representation of the memorials of the precious death of Christ is acceptable to God for the sake of that atoning death, and so draws down his favour upon the whole Church as well as upon those who partake in the celebration. This notion of drawing down God's favour upon the whole Church came gradually to include the spirits of departed friends, as being still a part of the Communion of Saints.



ST LAWRENCE (SAXON CHURCH), BRADFORD-ON-AVON.

The Anglo-Saxon Church

The following little Tables will show the Anglo-Danish Succession, and the position of the last Anglo-Saxon King, Edward the Confessor.

A.D. 871-901 ALFRED
from whom in direct descent

978-1016 *Ethelred* the Unready = *Emma*, daughter of Richard I (Sans Peur) Duke of Normandy.

1016 Edmund Ironside

(*Edmund*)

(*Edgar Atheling*)

A.D. 1042 *Edward the Confessor*

SWEYN

A.D. 1016 *Aelfgifu* = *Canute* = *Emma*, widow of Ethelred the Unready.

1035 *Harold Harefoot* King of England.

A.D. 1040 *Harthacanute* King of England (Half-brother of Edward the Confessor).

THE NORMAN DUKES

A.D. 911 Rollo

927 Guillaume longue Epée

942 Richard I. sans Peur — *Father of Emma*, Queen of Ethelred and of Canute. Mother of the Confessor, and by her second marriage, of King Harthacanute.

996 Richard II. le Bon

Brothers

1026 Richard III. (reigned but a short space)

1027 Robert le Diable (or le Magnifique)

1035 William the Conqueror

PART II

The Mediæval Church

A FEW IMPORTANT DATES

Sovereigns of England.		A.D.
Edward the Confessor	Edward the Confessor	1043
	Stigand, Archbishop	1052
Harold	Battle of Hastings, death of Harold	
William the Conqueror	Accession of William I.	1066
William Rufus	Lanfranc, Archbishop	1070
	„ Death	1089
Henry I. (Beauclerc)	Anselm, Archbishop	1093
	„ Death	1109
	Archbishop of Canterbury becomes Legate (Legatus Natus)	1126
	Cistercians in England	1128
Henry II. (Plantagenet)	Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury	1161
	„ „ Martyrdom	1170
Richard I. (Cœur de Lion)	Innocent III., Pope	1198
John	Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury	1207
	Magna Carta	1215
Henry III.	Dominicans in England	1221-2
	Franciscans in England	1224
	Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln	1247
Edward I.	Statute of Mortmain	1280
Edward II.	Process against Templars	1308
Edward III.	Birth of Wyclif	1324
Richard II.	Condemned at Oxford	1381
Henry V.	Council of Constance	1414
Henry VI.	Bishop Pecock	1449
Henry VII.	Cardinal Morton, Archbishop	1486

A Short Digression on the Normans.—The Viking story is a strange one. We have already emphasised their bitter hatred to Christianity, a hatred that influenced their policy in the period which followed their first marvellous successes. The work of Alfred has also been dwelt upon, how he was the first who broke their power and stayed their onward advance. From being the deadliest foes to the religion of Jesus, they became as time went on ardent supporters and valiant soldiers of the Cross—Canute, the acknowledged chief of the Viking race, when he became King of England, was conspicuous for his attachment to Christianity.

But it was in the great Viking settlement in Normandy that this strange conversion was most conspicuous. Owing to the close connection of Normandy with England, and the enormous Norman influence on the whole subsequent history of the Anglo-Saxon people which this connection brought about, it will be well to dwell a little upon this wonderful branch of the strange Viking race. It was in the last quarter of the ninth century when Alfred was king, that we first hear of Rollo the founder of the Norman power. Apparently one of the many Viking chiefs who as sea-pirates were roaming the seas which washed the various European coasts, Rollo eventually established himself in that beautiful Province of Gaul watered by the river Seine. In late life the sea-pirate developed wonderful powers of organisation, and dying in A.D. 927 he left to his descendants a compact and wealthy province absolutely their own. Rollo had five successors directly descended from him, each of whom more or less inherited the rare powers of their ancestor.

Between A.D. 927 the date of Rollo's death, and A.D. 1035 the date of the accession of William afterwards known as the Conqueror, a period a little over a hundred years, the territory of the Normans, for by this name the children of the Vikings of Rollo were generally known, gradually grew in extent, in wealth, in influence. In the middle years of the eleventh century, it had come to be reckoned as one of the powers of

Europe, distinguished alike for the splendid gallantry of its people and for the fervour of their religion. The first connection of the Normans with England was on the occasion of the marriage of Ethelred the Unready with Emma, the daughter of Duke Richard the Fearless, one of the more famous successors of Rollo. The offspring of this marriage was Edward afterwards known as the Confessor. When Ethelred died, Canute, King of England and Denmark, married the widowed Norman Princess Emma, and thus in the reign of Ethelred and of the Danish Canute, a Norman Princess was Queen of England. Both her sons, Harthacanute and Edward, sat on the English throne, and Edward, surnamed the Confessor, reigned for twenty-four years (A.D. 1042 to A.D. 1066). Edward the Confessor had been brought up in Rouen, an exile from his child days; when he became king, he literally only knew Norman manners and customs. His chief friends were Normans, his teachers had been ecclesiastics of the same race. How powerful must have been Norman influence during his reign is evident. When the Confessor passed away in 1066, very short, indeed, was the interlude between his death and the decisive victory at Hastings of the Norman Duke William. From that date the Norman was paramount in the island until the Norman conquerors at length became absorbed in the English race.

Edward the Confessor—Causes of his enduring popularity.—To return to Edward the Confessor. Generally the quarter of a century occupied by this important reign was again a period of "stillness." There was a short Welsh war, but the issue was never doubtful. At certain periods of the reign grave dissatisfaction with the king for his evident Norman predilections, for his desire to promote Norman and foreign ecclesiastics to places of position and power in the Church of England was apparent. But Edward the Confessor's vast popularity, though it received occasional checks, was never permanently impaired among the English people. Men have asked often what was the secret of the peculiar charm of the Confessor, whose memory has been so long cherished

by men alike of Saxon and Norman lineage. Several causes seem to have been at work here. The Saxon people, we have before noticed, were pre-eminently a religious people. They were impressed by his boundless generosity to the Church, by his love for and devotion to monk and ecclesiastic, by his fervid piety. No king before him had been such an avowed friend to the Church, her foundations, her churches and abbeys. The lordly Abbey of Westminster, one of the noblest minsters of Europe this side the Alps, consecrated while the saint-king lay dying beneath the shadow of its walls, has remained for centuries as the enduring memorial of his great love for religion. The Norman, when he came to exercise all power in England after the death of Harold at Hastings, would be ready also to remember how Edward had loved their race, how he was descended from one of the noblest of their great Dukes. He was thus equally held in honour by both Saxon and Norman. The Confessor, too, won for himself other titles to honour: long years after his death, we find the citizens of London praying Henry Beauclerc's daughter, the Empress Maud, that she would observe "the laws of King Edward," and this popular cry we find generally listened to by the Norman kings. And yet it is doubtful if any code of laws was ever compiled by the saintly king. It seems to have been rather the way in which he interpreted and administered the wise laws of the House of Alfred, supplemented by the great Danish sovereign Canute, which left so happy and enduring a memory in the hearts of the people.

There is no doubt but that Edward the Confessor was loved and reverenced by the men of his own time, and the love survived him till it passed into a precious national tradition. He represented to Anglo-Saxon and Norman their ideal king, intensely religious on the one hand, deeply sympathetic with the people on the other. There was a general feeling, too, that he lived nearer God than any of his contemporaries, ecclesiastic or layman. There is no doubt but that at this period (during his reign) the Church exercised

vast influence, although it is undeniable from the notices of writers of that age and of the succeeding period, that a carelessness and want of fervour was gradually stealing over the Church and its ministers during this the last period of Anglo-Saxon rule in England.

Relation between Alfred, his successors, and the Church.—The relations between the Church of England and the State in the days of the great kings of the House of Alfred, of Canute, and of the Confessor, were close and intimate. In the Witan or great Council of the nation, archbishops, bishops, and certain abbots of important houses were constantly present—the prelates were the chosen advisers of the king. In the "Cabinet" of the king, a staff of ecclesiastical secretaries was formed for carrying out all the details of the government. The reward in many cases of these ecclesiastics thus employed was an Episcopal See. This system was continued under the rule of the Norman kings and their successors. The appointment of bishops in earlier times is spoken of somewhat vaguely; now as the result of the choice of the clergy and the people, now as proceeding from the absolute will of the sovereign. Under Canute and his successors, however, the will of the king was notified in a more imperious manner, and by them the practice of investiture by the ring and crozier seems to have been introduced. No mention *ever* appears of any interference on the part of the Pope. His part in these Episcopal appointments was strictly confined to the bestowal of a pall upon the Archbishop, and this dignity was, of course, bestowed *after* the appointment had been definitely made. In early days the mind and will of commanding personalities, as in the case of Theodore of Canterbury, Aldhelm of Sherborne, Wilfrid and Egbert of York, and in later days of Dunstan of Canterbury, was stamped upon the Church of their times, and the effect of their influence was felt even after they had passed away. Sovereigns like Alfred, Canute and Edward the Confessor in their day however towered high above any ecclesiastic, and their influence in the Church of England of their day was absolutely paramount. Under Edward

the Confessor the appointment to bishoprics and abbacies practically and really rested with the king and the Witan (the great Council of the nation), but when the king chose, as he often did, to exercise his power, the appointment really rested with him. Frequently the Witan did little more than register the king's edicts in these matters.

King Edward the Confessor died, and Harold, the Earl of Wessex, the most prominent of the Saxon Theigns, and the chief adviser of King Edward, was chosen by the Witan to succeed him. Harold's crown was claimed by Harold Hardrada the Dane, King of Norway, and by William, the Duke of the Normans. Harold Hardrada was slain after a fiercely contested battle at Stamford Bridge in Yorkshire. William of Normandy however invading England with a great and disciplined host, defeated King Harold's Saxon army weakened by the terrible battle of Stamford Bridge, and the Saxon King was slain. William the Norman fought the battle of Hastings in the year 1066, and proceeded at once to the subjugation of England. The conquest of the island took roughly some three years and a half before it was completed. Many a gallant stand was made against the invader, but it was all useless. The Normans were led with consummate skill, while the English were never united. When Harold was dead, they possessed no great leader, and one division of the realm after the other fell into the invaders' hands, and before the end of the year 1069 William the Norman was king and master over the whole land. With the details of the Conquest this little history is not concerned.

Character of the Conqueror as a Churchman.—Whatever judgment may be formed of William the Conqueror, all writers have fairly agreed that he was an earnest and devoted Churchman, and although seemingly utterly unscrupulous, "he took no pleasure in wrong or oppression for its own sake; his crimes, and they admit of no denial, were never mere wanton crimes"; in his troubled career of conquest and organisation, writes one who at once admired and disliked him, "he never shrank from force or fraud, from wrong, blood-

shed, or oppression when they seemed to him the straightest path to carry out his purpose." In this strange complex character of the great conqueror, piety was no mere hypocrisy, he was devout and earnest, ever respectful to religion, ever one who showed all honour to its ministers, lavish in his gifts to the Church, a jealous ecclesiastical reformer. He left the Church in conquered England as well as in his broad Continental dominions, stronger, purer, more influential by far than it was in the early years of his eventful career.

Lanfranc.—By the side of this great sovereign stood an ecclesiastic who for good or evil must ever rank as one of the chief makers of the Mediæval Church of England. Lanfranc, a native of Pavia in North Italy, a rarely gifted scholar with the instincts of a statesman, attracted Duke William's notice in comparatively early life. Lanfranc settled in Normandy, and acquired great fame as a teacher at Avranches. Giving up his successful work there, he determined to throw in his lot with one of the most ascetic of the many monastic communities which were being founded in the powerful Norman Duchy. The reputation of Lanfranc raised the little unknown religious House of Bec (Bec lay between Rouen and Caen) to the position of a famous European school of learning. The scholar monk gained Duke William's confidence through his skill in procuring the Church's sanction to his marriage with Matilda. The marriage was deemed unlawful owing to the relationship which existed between the Duke and the woman he loved with a passion which never grew cold. The good offices of Lanfranc were not forgotten by his imperious master, who gradually discovered the far-reaching abilities of the scholar monk, and till death William, Matilda and Lanfranc were devoted friends and allies. During the most important part of the life of William, Lanfranc was *the* minister and most trusted adviser of the Conqueror. On the deposition of Stigand, the Anglo-Saxon Archbishop of Canterbury, Lanfranc was appointed, against his will, to the vacant primacy, and to a considerable extent he remodelled and reorganised the Church

of England largely after the pattern of the Norman and Continental Churches. Before we speak in detail of the modifications and reforms of the famous Norman Archbishop, we must rapidly glance over the churches of the West.

The Misery, Confusion and Sin of the Church during the Ninth and early years of the Tenth Centuries.—We have already alluded to the dark and threatening clouds which menaced civilised Europe in the latter years of the Emperor Charlemagne. The Emperor passed away in the year 814. For more than a century Northern and even Central Europe was desolated by the Viking raids, while in the South—in the Mediterranean washed countries — the Saracens played a somewhat similar fatal part. In this gloomy period no really commanding genius appeared who was able to unite the various desolated countries against the common foes. Perhaps A.D. 888, the year of the expiration of the dynasty of Charlemagne, and the final breaking up of his dynasty, is the best date to give for the moment of supreme misery and general hopelessness, confusion and ruin. The Catholic Church shared in the general decay and lawlessness; the ninth and the greater part of the tenth centuries were perhaps the darkest periods in the annals of Christendom. For more than a century and a half anarchy and misrule, with rare exceptions, prevailed throughout well-nigh the whole of the Western Church. Rome and the line of popes in the same age set a terrible example. The degradation of the Roman bishops was so awful that the annalists of the Roman Church stand aghast before it. Even the learned and scrupulous Mabillon confesses that most of the popes of the tenth century lived rather like monsters or wild beasts than like bishops. Simony in its most exaggerated form was a general curse in the churches. Princes bestowed important bishoprics on bastard sons; barons conferred abbeys and even sees on their infant sons; churches were bequeathed to daughters as their dowries; scandalous irregularities dishonoured many

even of the principal monasteries; drunkenness, and vices viler than drunkenness, dishonoured many of the monks and the wearers of ecclesiastical habits; and this deplorable state of things prevailed all over the Continent of Europe. England alone, as it seems, under the strong kings of the House of Alfred, and later under Canute and Edward the Confessor, enjoyed in matters ecclesiastical as well as civil a comparative freedom from the universal anarchy and misrule which more or less prevailed on the Continent.

The Revival of the Church begins in the Monastery of Cluny.—When things, however, were at their darkest, a religious revival began in the Monastic Orders. This revival began a few years after the death of English Alfred in a small religious community at Cluny, near Macon, in Burgundy, in which a specially austere form of the rule of St Benedict was practised. These "Cluniac" monastics, who are first heard of about the year 909, from a small community numbering some twelve poor monks, grew before the end of the twelfth century into a mighty order of reformed Benedictines, numbering some 2000 houses, spread over France and England, Germany, Italy and Spain. All through that awful tenth century, that sad age of misrule and confusion, the House of Cluny had the rare fortune of possessing a succession of saintly abbots of rare and conspicuous ability, each one carrying on the high traditions of his predecessor, and gradually inducing other and kindred religious houses to aim at a nobler life. It is not too much to say that the example and influence of Cluny reformed and reinvigorated the monastic system on the Continent. From Cluny, too, emanated the spirit which inspired the long-degraded papacy once more with sanctity and power, and even largely supplied the great men who were the instruments of the gradual reformation of the Church.

Before the middle of the eleventh century, when Edward the Confessor was King of England, a new spirit had already began to permeate well-nigh the whole of the Western Church on the Continent of Europe. A nobler succession of bishops

of Rome presided over the Italian Church, and more or less influenced the whole of Western Christendom. The reform of Cluny was adopted in countless monastic houses, the glaring wrong of simony and its innumerable attendant evils was everywhere denounced, and generally given up. A number of earnest and devoted men, conspicuous no less for their commanding abilities as for their holiness of life, arose in the course of this great reforming eleventh century. Not only were the religious houses of the older orders, especially the Benedictines, reorganised and reformed, but a number of new monastic orders, generally professing a rule of extreme austerity, sprung into being, such as that of Camaldoli and Vallombrosa in Italy, and the subsequently world-famous orders of Carthusians and Cistercians in France, and the last years of this wonderful century (the eleventh) witnessed the outburst of this strange religious enthusiasm affecting all the western nations, and which resulted in the Crusades.

William and Lanfranc.—It was in the year 1066 when this marvellous religious reaction was in full progress on the Continent of Europe, that one of the most enlightened and ablest of the Continental princes, William, Duke of Normandy, laid claim to the Anglo-Saxon Crown. The complete, perhaps undreamed of success of his daring scheme needs here but a passing allusion. The Norman adventurer became soon known as the Norman Conqueror, and one of the most enduring of his works in the conquered Anglo-Saxon realm was the bringing the Anglo-Saxon Church into line with the churches of the mighty Norman Duchy, and the other churches of the West in close communion with Rome.

The instrument by means of which King William the Conqueror carried out the gradual reorganisation of the English Church, was his friend and adviser the *Abbot Lanfranc*, who, within four years of the decisive Norman victory at Hastings, became Archbishop of Canterbury.

Lanfranc, upon whose vast abilities and profound learning we have already dwelt, was a typical Churchman of that wonderful age of Church "Renaissance." He was one of the most

able and prominent of the Church leaders who had arisen to guide and influence Western Christendom when she awoke from her long and death-like slumber which had paralysed her influence for more than 150 years. But Lanfranc was more than a learned ecclesiastic, he was too a far-seeing statesman who knew how to impose his reforms and changes on such a powerful church as was the Church of the Anglo-Saxons, without stirring up a bitter opposition. Perhaps among the Norman leaders and statesmen who surrounded the Conqueror during the stern task of remodelling England, Lanfranc alone never seems to have raised the hatred of the conquered people. To the end of his prolonged and work-filled life, he was respected, even loved by the English people, by men of Anglo-Saxon race as well as by their Norman conquerors.

Changes in the Anglo-Saxon Church carried out by Lanfranc.—Great no doubt were the changes made, and sweeping the reforms carried out by King William and his archbishop in the old Anglo-Saxon Church, but it must be remembered that the Church, *after* all the work of William and Lanfranc had been done, and the king and his archbishop had passed away, was still the Church of Edward the Confessor and Canute, of Dunstan and his school, reformed, reorganised, inspired with new aims and purposes, *but still the same church*, the changes and reforms having been carried out with scarcely any violence and with surprisingly little opposition, when the peculiar and painful relation of the conquerors and the conquered are taken into consideration.

Among the Anglo-Saxon bishops, Stigand, the Primate, already an old man, was deposed. Various accusations were made against him, but when the matter is judicially weighed, it must be considered after all a high-handed and arbitrary proceeding, but possibly unavoidable, Stigand being too deeply attached to Anglo-Saxon usages ever to submit to the new state of things. The Bishop of Durham was also deposed on the charge of treason, probably a well-founded charge, if his conduct was viewed from a Norman standpoint. The Sees of York and Lichfield were speedily vacated by the death of

their occupants. Indeed, after the year 1070, only two sees retained native bishops. It must be allowed that the Conqueror's bishops were generally good and able men of the reforming school of Lanfranc, and the nobler section of the Continental Church.

A sterner and more ascetic way of living was introduced into the English Church by Lanfranc and his suffragans. The long disputed question of the marriage of the clergy was brought again to the front. The reforms here and rules of Dunstan and his school had in England largely fallen into abeyance, and marriage among the clergy in the later days of the Anglo-Saxon rule was very customary. The lax way of living, the excesses too common in the Church during the unhappy tenth century, no doubt had brought the vexed point in question into the forefront of the reforms pressed upon the Church by the earnest Churchmen of Cluny and other influential religious houses. By the leading ecclesiastics at this period on the Continent of Europe, celibacy was rigidly enforced. Lanfranc was himself intensely convinced of the advantage, and even of the solemn duty of this severe rule for all degrees of ecclesiastics, but was too wise to press his views in England with extreme severity. He began with the canons of cathedrals, and with the members of capitular bodies; but a milder discipline was at first enforced upon the parochial clergy, and some relaxation of the stern edicts of the reigning Pope Gregory VII. (Hildebrand) was allowed. But such relaxation was only intended to be temporary, and the future was carefully provided for in the regulation that all priests were enjoined strictly not to marry, and the bishops were warned against ordaining married men.

A most important and far-reaching change in the constitution of the Church of England, brought about by the first Norman archbishop, was the separation of the Church jurisdiction from the secular business of the Courts of Law. Henceforth the bishop and the archdeacon held courts of their own. Cases connected with spiritual matters, even where laymen were involved, were henceforth tried by can-

onical, not by customary law. The archbishop besides, from the days of Lanfranc, held his synod distinct from the great gemote or assembly of the realm. When the bishop or the abbot henceforth sat in the popular assembly, it was as a baron rather than as a prelate. The effect of this was to separate in a great degree the life of the Church from the national life. It created new aspirations, new thoughts on the part of ecclesiastics, making them members rather of a vast European empire, whose chief and ruler resided in Rome, than members of a National Church, whose interests were closely bound up with those of their own country.

Effect of Lanfranc's changes—Relations with Rome grow closer.—Thus was the Church of England for the first time brought into much closer dependence on the See of Rome. Very shadowy indeed had been the connection of the Church of England in Anglo-Saxon times with Rome. Its only acknowledgments of dependence indeed had been—(1) the payment of a small tribute under the name of Peter's pence, apparently in the first instance connected with the maintenance of an English school at Rome, and the frequent presence of English pilgrims to the hallowed sanctuaries of the Eternal City; (2) the reception on the part of the English archbishops of the sacred emblem of the Pall[1] from the reigning Bishop of Rome.

[1] The Pall (Pallium) was a symbol of archiepiscopal jurisdiction. At the close of the sixth century Pope Gregory the Great sent to Augustine of Canterbury "a Pall," which he charged him only to wear in the celebration of Mass. This "Pall" granted by Gregory to Augustine appears in the arms of the Arch-See of Canterbury. The simplest form of the Pall was worn by Alexandrian bishops in the fifth century. It seems to have been a simple white woollen scarf round the neck. A rich form of this garment became part of the imperial attire, and was granted by Emperors as a mark of honour to patriarchs; then the Popes began, originally in the Emperor's name or by his desire, to allow the use of the "Pall" to certain bishops, to some metropolitans, or to other prelates of distinction or of special influence. It did not, however, become a necessary badge of archiepiscopal dignity, until a later stage in development of Papal power was reached.

It should be carefully remembered that the interference of legates from Rome, which *after* the Norman Conquest perpetually exercised so important and on the whole so baleful an influence on the government and policy of the English Church, was virtually *unknown* in Anglo-Saxon times. There was no Roman legation before the days of Offa, the Mercian king, in A.D. 787, and after the days of Offa there are only scanty traces of such interference for the next three centuries. Few instances indeed of Roman influence can be noted in Anglo-Saxon history, and whenever interference on the part of Rome was attempted, it was resisted. Dunstan, perhaps the ablest of Anglo-Saxon Churchmen, for instance, even refused to obey a Papal sentence.

But directly after the coming of the Normans in 1066, all this was changed. Legates from Rome possessing a great though perhaps at first an undefined authority now made their appearance in England. Their constant presence in the island soon became a recognised fact. Three of these foreign officials were present at the Council held after the completion of the Conquest in A.D. 1070, when Archbishop Stigand was deposed and other ecclesiastical changes were made.

The general tendency of the changes and reforms of Lanfranc was to weaken the insular independence of England—to make her Church less national, but more like the Continental churches of the West—it emphatically contributed enormously towards the growth of Papal power. The moment was propitious for bringing about this change. Independently of all special circumstances attendant on the Conquest, and the consequent change of Government, the Church of England, at the time of the coming of the Normans, was no doubt wanting in vigour. The revival of life which had taken place under Dunstan and his disciples had worn itself out. The time was come for a new and vigorous reform ; but Lanfranc did more than merely raise the standard of the Church of England intellectually and morally ; he changed its position as regards the State, and altered completely its ancient relations with the Roman See. The Church of England, for more than four

centuries and a half, virtually ceased to be a National Church, and, on her ecclesiastical side, became a province of a foreign empire.

Changes in the Sites of Episcopal Sees.—In the course of the reorganisation work undertaken by Lanfranc, and completed by the end of the century, was a long series of changes in the sites of Episcopal sees. These sites, dating from the early days of missionary effort, were often placed in some ancient village or little town, which had lost its original importance as a centre, or as a home of the prince. It was decided by Lanfranc wisely that these sites should be removed to cities. In most cases these changes have endured in the Church of England, all through the eight hundred years which have elapsed since the days of the Norman William and Lanfranc. Thus, to take well-known instances, Selsey, the original seat of the South-Saxon Bishopric, was then changed for Chichester—Dorchester—the old home of the famous missionary Birinus; a little village near Oxford was put aside for Lincoln as a better centre for a vast diocese, which stretched from the Humber to the Thames. Elmham, the old seat of the East-Anglian bishops, gave place to Thetford, which, however, was quickly exchanged for Norwich. Wells ceased for a season to give a home and a name to the Norman Prelate of Somerset, who chose as his Episcopal seat the time-honoured city of Bath, the famous Aquae-solis of the Roman-British provincials.

Lanfranc introduces the Doctrine subsequently known as "Transubstantiation" into the English Church.—In one important particular there was a change in the doctrinal teaching of the English Church after the coming of the Normans. We have already spoken of the genesis of the doctrine afterwards so widely received under the well-known name of "Transubstantiation," and we gave, as the rough date, for the earliest exposition of the teaching, the year 831. We showed, too, how emphatically this doctrinal development was rejected by the Anglo-Saxon Church, in the authoritative writings of Elfric. In spite, however, of the early opposi-

tion of such eminent men and profound scholars as Archbishop Rabanus Maurus of Mainz, Johannes Scotus Erigena, Ratramnus and others, it must be confessed that the novel doctrine had gradually gained an ascendency in the course of the ninth and tenth centuries. What was, however, simply at first a floating doctrine, became crystallised in the middle of the eleventh century, very largely through the influence of the powerful Lanfranc, the favourite of the Conqueror. Lanfranc, in the disputings which arose on the subject of the much debated question, stood out as the prominent defender of the new view. It was Lanfranc's celebrated treatise "On the Body and Blood of the Lord" which really established "transubstantiation" and all its consequences as a generally accepted dogma in the Western Church. With the accession of Lanfranc to a position of absolute power in the Church of England, the doctrine, which he believed in so fervently, became of course part of the formal teaching of the English Church. But when, in the sixteenth century, another and a yet older teaching on the Eucharistic Presence took its place, the change was no new thing to England. The doctrine of the reformers was simply a return to the "old paths" trodden by the divines of the Anglo-Saxon Church before the Norman Conquest, and which had been handed down to them from an immemorial antiquity.

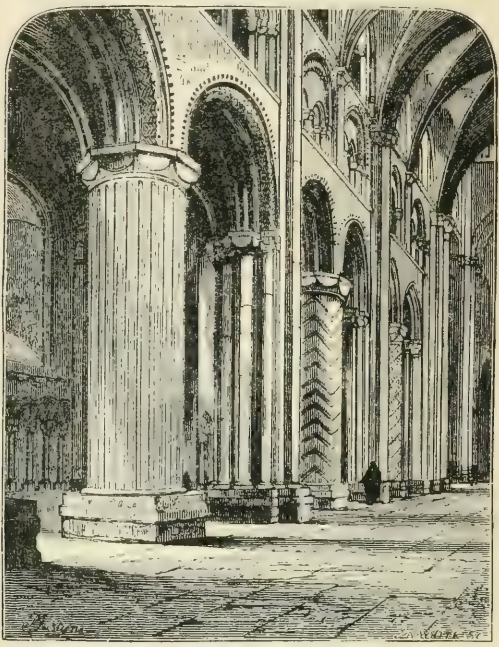
The Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries a great Church-Building Age.—The eleventh century—that wonderful age of the awakening of the Western Church, among other signs of its splendid vitality, showed a great activity in church building; as Raoul Glaber, the Benedictine chronicler, wrote about A.D. 1047, "it was as if the whole world had thrown off the rags of its ancient time, and had arrayed itself in the white robe of the Churches." Many of the mighty prayer Homes of the world which still, after eight centuries, excite wonder and admiration, were designed and largely completed before the eleventh century was closed: notably St Mark's at Venice, and not a few other stately Cathedrals and lordly Abbeys in various parts of France, Germany, and Italy, &c., belonged to this great

church building age. For instance, in 1089 the abbey church of Cluny, perhaps the grandest of them all, was completed; the cathedral of Chartres, a wondrous conception of genius, was commenced in 1060. But in this important work of church building no country surpassed, we may say equalled, Norman England. Already, in the middle of the century, Edward the Confessor, in the splendid pile of Westminster, had competed with the greatest architects on the Continent; but the church building work only really began here in the year 1070, when the Conquest was fairly complete. Then bishops and abbots set to work in real earnest, and what are known as Norman cathedrals, abbeys, minsters, parish churches, began with extraordinary rapidity to arise. In all parts of the island the same activity was noticeable. On the Cliff of Durham above the Wear, in the fen lands of Ely, in the Severn and Avon watered meadows of Gloucestershire, to take notable examples, lordly churches and abbeys were built, nothing was spared. It was as though an inexhaustible treasure was at the disposal of the inspired builders to enable them to carry out their splendid designs.

Very many of these great Norman piles are with us still, and, besides the vast abbeys, minsters, and cathedrals, not a few of the humbler village churches dating from the later years of the eleventh and first half of the twelfth centuries remain as silent eloquent witnesses of the mighty church revival under Lanfranc and his successors. Great and startling as were these outward results of the great church awakening on the Continent of Europe, in England they were especially conspicuous. It is no baseless theory, however, which ascribes to *a deep feeling of remorse* on the part of the Norman King and Norman nobles for the deeds of blood and violence which accompanied the Conquest of England, the impulse which moved the victors to provide the enormous outlay absolutely necessary for the carrying out these many costly religious works, for which England, even in that age of wonderful church building, was especially distinguished.

The Conqueror died in the year 1087, and Lanfranc sur-

vived his master and friend only two years. While Lanfranc lived, the brilliant evil William Rufus forbore to interfere in any ecclesiastical matters; but when the aged archbishop passed away, Rufus at once, instead of nominating a successor,



NAVE OF DURHAM CATHEDRAL.

seized upon the vast revenues of the Arch-See. The character of Rufus has been with justice severely handled by chroniclers and historians. Unmistakably brilliant and able, in him the wild, untamed spirit of the ancient Vikings, from whom

he was descended, seemed to dwell, from them he inherited his hatred and scorn of the Christian religion. His favourite adviser was Ralph Flambard, who from the office of superintendent of the king's kitchen became the chief royal adviser and Bishop of Durham. Rufus and Flambard revived the old curse of simony, which had pressed so fatally on the Church of the tenth century, and carried on a large and profitable traffic for all the bishoprics and abbeys as they fell vacant. For nearly four years the revenues of Canterbury were confiscated. The stern entry in the contemporary English chronicle, under the date of A.D. 1100, tells the story of Rufus' and Flambard's dealings with the Church simply and without rhetoric:—"In Rufus' days all justice sank, and all unrighteousness arose in the sight of God and of the world. He trampled on the Church of God, and as to the bishoprics and abbacies, the incumbents of which died in his reign, he either sold them outright, or kept them in his own hands."

Career of Anselm.—To stem the torrent of all this high-handed iniquity in Church and State, in the providence of God one of those rare great ones was raised up in the Church of England. Anselm, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, a native like Lanfranc of North Italy, had been the pupil, then the successor of Lanfranc in the famous Norman Monastery of Bec. Like his master, as a teacher he first won a world-wide celebrity. In A.D. 1093 when Rufus lay, as it was supposed, mortally sick at Gloucester, fear induced the evil monarch to appoint the saintly scholar to the primacy which had been vacant since the death of Lanfranc in 1089.

When William Rufus recovered, began the conflict between Anselm and the king—unbridled license of manners reigned everywhere, shameless simony was practised in all matters of Church preferment, the archbishop with persistent energy resisted all this wrong-doing. Very bitter was the enmity that existed between the king and the primate. The stern opposition of Anselm to misrule and injustice, to wickedness and corruption was the real ground of the enmity. Other and less real causes were, however, alleged by the Court party,

notably the primate's refusal to contribute a great sum towards the purchase of Normandy from Robert.

Harassed by this bitter enmity and injustice, and despairing of finding either mercy or justice at the king's hand, Anselm appealed to Rome. There is no doubt but that this famous appeal of such a man as Anselm to Pope Urban II. against the lawless tyranny of a king of the type of William Rufus, gave an enormous impulse to the ever-growing claims of Rome. They grew and grew, as we shall see, did these claims, till they became insupportable, and were one of the exciting causes of the Reformation of the sixteenth century. The action of Anselm which bore such fatal fruits has found, however, able and earnest apologists whose defence can scarcely be gainsaid. It was the only appeal from arbitrary cruel rule which in Anselm's day was practicable in Christendom, nor was such an appeal a novelty. The Conqueror had already invoked the same spiritual power against the national choice of Harold as king, and under the banner of Pope Alexander II. he had fought the decisive battle of Hastings. It was the act of William of Normandy who had first placed the Pope upon a supreme throne of appeal which rendered the subsequent appeal of Anselm possible.

Anselm, however, for the present left England; wherever he sojourned he was welcomed as an honoured guest. At Rome Pope Urban treated him with extraordinary distinction, speaking of him positively as his equal, as the patriarch or pope of a second world. After three years King William Rufus received his death-wound in the New Forest. Anselm at once returned to England, and was received with universal acclamation. Things promised well in the new reign and Henry I. (Beauclerc) pledged himself generally to redress the wrong-doing of his brother, and as regards the Church he said, "The Holy Church of God I make free, so that I will neither sell it, nor let it to farm; nor on the death of archbishop or bishop or abbot will I take anything from the domain of the Church or from its men, till the successor comes into possession."

Grave disputes, however, soon arose between Beauclerc and Anselm, the king insisting on the Primate receiving a re-investiture of his high office, maintaining that on the death of the sovereign the Archbishop's commission expired. Anselm refused to comply with Henry's demand, asserting besides that the king had no right to invest bishop or abbot with staff or ring. Lately at one of the Papal Councils this formal investiture of the spiritual office at the hands of a king had been condemned, and this decision Anselm determined to uphold. The question was referred by king and prelate again to Rome—thus acknowledging the authority of the Pope—a departure indeed from the Anglo-Saxon customs. For some three years the question was argued, Pope Paschal II., gently but firmly, as was natural, supporting the views of Anselm. In the end King Henry I. yielded most of the points in discussion.

The question has been asked what induced so able and powerful a monarch as was Henry Beauclerc to concede thus far to the decision of Rome. In reply it may be fairly urged that the far-reaching importance of such a concession to the Pope could not have been grasped by Henry I. Then it must be remembered that Henry's mighty father the Conqueror had referred the momentous question touching the righteousness of the English Conquest to Pope Paschal's predecessor, that Hastings, in consequence, was fought and won under the shadow of the sacred banner of Rome.

No doubt too Anselm's personal character weighed not a little in the concession to Anselm. No living Churchman was comparable to the English Archbishop. Not only was he peerless in his scholarship, but in his saintly character—in his reputation for truthfulness and nobility of aim and purpose, he stood among the prominent Churchmen of Europe on a solitary pinnacle. Beauclerc was too wise a sovereign not to be conscious that in Anselm he had for his primate the greatest living Christian bishop. After the concession the king continued generally to exercise the power still possessed by the Crown of *choosing* bishops and the higher ecclesiastics, but by giving up the right of *making* bishops and abbots by the delivery of

the pastoral staff, the sovereign acknowledged the paramount spiritual and religious character of these offices. So far the victory of Anselm conferred a lasting benefit on the Church of England; but the victory of the saintly Archbishop unhappily involved, besides, an acknowledgment on the part of the Church and Sovereign of England, of the supreme jurisdiction of Rome, an acknowledgment which Rome was not slow to avail itself of, and which laid the foundation of later Roman pretensions to supreme authority.

On the life of the Church of England the presence of such a man as was Anselm was not lost. The Norman prelates and abbots of the Conqueror and of William Rufus were for the most part able men, but statesmen rather than pastors, trained as they had generally been in the cabinet of the sovereign. Towards the close of Anselm's career, it was noticeable, largely owing to his saintly influence, that the life of the Norman bishops and abbots was becoming more self-denying and spiritual, and that a loftier conception of their office was beginning to prevail in England. One point was especially urged by Anselm. The decrees of Lanfranc respecting the marriage of the clergy were made more strict, especially in the case of members of chapters; even those already married were directed to part from their wives. Marriage was utterly forbidden to all Churchmen of the rank of sub-deacon and upwards. To this stern legislation there was naturally much opposition, but from Anselm's days onward, the rule of celibacy became the universal law of the English Church. "The Mass of the married priest was not to be heard," wrote the contemporary chronicler Eadmer, an intimate friend of the Archbishop.

Henry I. (Beauclerc) survived his admired and loved Archbishop some twenty-six years, dying in the year 1135. No doubt the influence of Anselm had done much to mould the character of that wise sovereign of whom the contemporary English chronicler thus writes: "He (Henry Beauclerc) was a good man, and great was the awe of him; no man durst ill-treat another in his time, he made peace for men and deer."

The king's last words to his great men gathered round his death-bed are memorable, in which he charged them to keep the peace, and protect the poor.

The Church in the sad period of King Stephen's reign.—The reign of Stephen, who succeeded Henry Beauclerc, which covered a period of about nineteen years, was harassed by a desolating civil war. The crown to which he succeeded, he claimed through his mother, Adèle, the Conqueror's daughter. But he found a formidable competitor in the person of Matilda, Beauclerc's daughter, somewhiles Empress of Germany, and then wife of Geoffrey, Count of Anjou. King Stephen, alternately a conqueror and a prisoner, was utterly powerless to enforce law and order in the land. The poor and weak were grievously oppressed, and terrible and universal suffering prevailed. During this period of civil war and misery—though Stephen had the reputation of caring little for the Church—no special acts of oppression of Churchmen are recorded, indeed the Church in these years of confusion gained in power and influence, for in this dreary age of misrule it was the only home and sanctuary for the poor and the oppressed of all ranks. An enormous number of new religious houses were built, indeed no period was so prolific in the establishment of communities of monks and nuns as the nineteen war-filled years of King Stephen's reign. The power of Rome kept continually advancing. We hear of Roman legates in England, and we come across constant notices of appeals to Rome—some of them even from the king himself. Increased submission to Rome is one of the noticeable features of these sad nineteen years. There was none to notice, much less to resist these foreign encroachments.

Henry II., Plantagenet—His vast dominions and power.—The year 1154 witnessed the beginning of a new era. The sudden death of Stephen, who had no direct heir, left the throne open to the son of Stephen's life-long adversary the Empress Matilda—Henry Plantagenet of Anjou—known as Henry II. Fortune wonderfully favoured Henry II. From his father he inherited Anjou and the broad

Augevin dominions. Through his marriage with Eleanor, somewhiles Queen of France, the greatest heiress in Europe, he became sovereign of the vast provinces in the south of France, known as Aquitaine and Gascony. On Stephen's death he was saluted as undisputed King of England and Duke of Normandy. His empire, men said, not without truth, stretched from the Arctic Ocean to the Pyrenees. There was no European sovereign who ruled so powerful and wealthy a group of states. No king who ever reigned in England exercised a more powerful and abiding influence over the Church than did Henry II. the Plantagenet.

But before dwelling upon the Church history of this great reign, a brief digression is necessary upon one of the singular outcomes of the great Church Revival of the eleventh century.

The Crusades — A digression.—We have already touched upon the Holy Wars, popularly known as the Crusades, as an outcome of the extraordinary religious revival of the eleventh century. This great religious war would have been impossible, save in the age which first undertook it. The far-reaching religious revival had touched all ranks and orders in well-nigh every European State. Such a work as the rescue of the Holy City and sacred sanctuaries from the hands of unbelievers, of men who hated Christianity, appealed in that age of newly awakened religious fervour to all sorts and conditions of men. Among the multitudes thus stirred up to rescue the Holy Places from the hands of the unbelievers was Pope Urban II., who with heart and soul put himself at the head of the universal movement. We have already dwelt upon the fact that the Papacy among other ecclesiastical institutions had been reformed; a succession of able and devoted Churchmen had succeeded to the long line of dissolute and even infamous prelates who had for so many years reigned in Rome. Old and shadowy claims to a spiritual supremacy over other churches had been revived with great force and emphasis by this new line of bishops of Rome. There is no shadow of a doubt that the crusading fever was an enormous help to these pretensions of the Popes. While on the one hand it would be

unfair to ascribe Pope Urban II.'s action here to mere policy, for he was an intensely religious man, and to him the crusade which he inaugurated was indeed the cause of God, still, on the other hand, he could not have been blind to the enormous power and influence which his act of putting himself at the head of so wide-spread a popular movement would win for the Papacy. For two centuries every pulpit in Christendom proclaimed the duty of war with the unbeliever, and represented the battlefield in such a holy cause as the sure path to heaven. All through this lengthened period, lasting two centuries, the Crusades, those vast military expeditions, cast the broad shadows of their influence for good or evil over Europe.

From the date of the first Crusade at the close of the eleventh century the great spiritual potentate at Rome, with a sudden leap, rose in public estimation to a position grander than that occupied by any temporal sovereign. The Pope at once became, in theory at least, the liege lord of the Western World, bequeathing this great legacy of power to his successors in the so-called Apostolic See. The Crusades that followed the first of these holy wars, served to consolidate his well-nigh limitless powers. Every prince who took the Cross left his dominions under the protection of the Bishop of Rome. Every noble who became a Crusader was freed from most feudal claims of his superior or over-lord. The very peasant and the serf were free if they became soldiers of the Crusading army. The Pope in theory became the liege lord of all these Crusaders, for the Crusader was the soldier of the Church, and the Pope was general-in-chief of these armies of the Faith. He assumed, no one gainsaying him, this lofty position in the preaching of the first Crusade. The Roman Bishop thus obtained a position absolutely unprecedented in the history of the world.

Again, his legates, hitherto comparatively few and of doubtful authority, in Anglo-Saxon England absolutely unknown, first really making their appearance in England at the epoch of the Norman Conquest, now became a familiar group of figures in all European countries, England included, the great

popular movement of the Crusades supplying an opportunity of sending legates from Rome to urge the duty of helping on, with men and treasure, the Holy Wars waged by the believer against the infidel for the rescue and then for the safe custody of Jerusalem and the Holy Land. And thus every court in Europe, every religious house, became familiar with the presence of the official representatives of the Pope, in the persons of his legates.

The free-will offerings of monks and clergy to Rome for these Holy Wars gradually became a regular tax, and thus imperceptibly the principle crept in of Roman exactions from foreign churches for objects very different from the one originally contemplated—the Crusades.

Another result of these long drawn-out crusades is deserving of special mention. There was undoubtedly a large increase during this period in the landed property belonging to the Church. While on the one hand no Church lands could be alienated, on the other large additions to what they already possessed were made. Lands for a long period were comparatively cheap. Money for the equipment of the Crusaders was urgently needed, and vast properties in land, to use a modern expression, were thrown upon the market. Much of this land fell into the hands of the Church. But in after times these great properties in the hands of the ecclesiastical bodies became a fruitful source of jealousy on the part of princes and nobles, and these newly acquired possessions were in the long-run a source of weakness rather than of strength to the Church.

One solid advantage to civilisation certainly may be put down to the Crusades of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. It rolled back for ever the advancing tide of Mahommedan invasion. That threatening wave was first broken by Charles Martel, Charlemagne's grandfather, at the battle of Tours in the eighth century, but the danger was very real again in the eleventh century, and the fairest provinces of Southern Europe were once more seriously threatened. The Crusades for ever warded off this danger from Christendom.

As regards their influence on *Doctrine*, there is no doubt

but that the Crusades largely, though indirectly, contributed to what must be considered the gravest error of the great Mediæval Church. It may be said to have popularised, so to speak, *the worship of the Virgin Mother of the Lord.* At what period this extraordinary reverence for the Blessed Virgin first made its appearance in Christian teaching is uncertain. All signs of it are absent in the New Testament. It was unknown in apostolic and sub-apostolic times. In the ancient liturgy of St John Chrysostom, still in common use in the Eastern Church, the Virgin Mother is even prayed for. Similar testimony appears in the ancient liturgies of SS. Basil, Gregory Nazianzen and Cyril. But as time went on the doctrinal teaching on the subject of the Virgin developed earlier in the East than in the West, where the development of Mariolatry (we use the word reluctantly) was somewhat slower, though in the end far more pronounced. But from the time of Gregory the Great in the earlier years of the seventh century, the worship of the Virgin became in the Western Church more and more a recognised part of Christian belief. Peter Damiani, for instance, Bishop and Cardinal, a teacher of wide influence in the second half of the eleventh century, speaks of Mary in wild language of rapturous devotion. In such teaching, Mary, if not within the ever blessed Trinity, hardly below it, was enthroned as Queen of Heaven.

Now the Crusades, as the result of a strange fusion of religion and war, produced a new character on the stage of the Western World—the ideal knight, who united the force and fire of the ancient warrior with all the tenderness and humility of the Christian saint. Chivalry, at least the religious side of it, may be said to have been an outcome of the Crusades. To help the oppressed and weak was the paramount duty of every knight. Courtesy towards and protection of the weaker sex became the especial care of knighthood. Next therefore to devotion stood gallantry among the principles of knighthood, the love of God and the ladies was enjoined in the teaching of chivalry. In the somewhat strange confusion of ideas, this devotion to the female sex took a religious tone.

There was one lady of whom, high above all, every knight was the special and sworn servant—the *Virgin Mother of the Saviour*, the rescue of whose sepulchre was the primary object of the Crusades. From the soldier, this deep sentiment of adoration passed to the people, thus the adoration of the Virgin long taught by theologians in the East and West became *popularised* among all the Western nations, a popularity which continued through all the Middle Ages to influence and to colour Christian worship, especially throughout Western Christendom. Soon every cathedral and abbey, every spacious church had its Chapel of our Lady, these chapels becoming more important as the centuries advanced.

Among the many changes which passed over the Church of England at the period of the Reformation, none more deserves grateful recognition from the theologian than the cutting out from her liturgies and formularies every trace of this strange unnatural cult of one who, "blessed among women" though she be, possesses no title to worship, no claim to the adoration of Christian people.

Thomas Becket, Archbishop and Martyr.—To return to the events in Church history which rendered the reign of Henry II., the Plantagenet, A.D. 1154-1189, memorable. By the side of the mighty Angevin King, during the first eight years of his reign, stood a young and brilliant ecclesiastic, by name Becket. Brought up in the household of Theobald, the Archbishop of Canterbury, this Becket, through the Archbishop's favour, was trained in Canon Law at Bologna, and on his return was employed in important negotiations at Rome. The Archbishop, struck with his great powers, rapidly promoted him, and brought him under the king's notice. Henry II. conceived an extraordinary affection for him, and entrusted him with the principal direction of State affairs in England. On the death of Archbishop Theobald, King Henry nominated Becket to the Primacy, this was in the year 1162.

Between the Church of England and the king some grave causes of difference existed at this time. The Conqueror,

among other constitutional changes had, under the advice of Lanfranc, separated, we have already noticed, the secular courts from the ecclesiastical courts of law. These ecclesiastical courts had assumed wide powers even over the laity. They alone enforced spiritual penalties, and administered the law as to wills and marriages, and claimed the exclusive right to deal with all crimes and misdemeanours committed by clerks—men in holy orders of any degree. Clerks thus too often escaped all real punishment for grave as well as for light offences. A more pressing subject of uneasiness, however, existed in the rapid drifting of the Church of England into a state of complete subjection to Rome; very many of the newly-founded religious houses, and they were both numerous and wealthy, were exempt from Episcopal control and acknowledged only the Pope as their Superior. Appeals to Rome from the Church of England also were alarmingly on the increase. Freed practically from the common law of the realm, the clergy looked more and more to the Pope as the supreme judge and arbiter in all their causes. This grave and ever increasing danger to the State from the interference of a foreign power was viewed by a wise and far-seeing monarch like Henry II. with growing uneasiness. He was sensible that there was growing up in England a powerful community largely alien to the national life; and with the hope of finding a powerful Church coadjutor in the reforms he proposed to effect in Church matters, he raised his friend and minister, Becket, to the Primacy. Never was any king so deceived in the instrument he had forged to carry out his will.

From the day of his elevation to the Archbishopric, Becket, to the surprise and mortification of the king, threw himself heart and soul into the Church and Roman party, and Henry, in his efforts to diminish the practical immunity of the clergy from the civil law of the nation, and to counteract the danger which he foresaw from the ever-growing assumptions of Rome, found in his old friend, his bitterest and most formidable opponent. Thus commenced the hatred between the king and the primate. At a great National Council held at Clarendon

near Salisbury, in the year 1164, the famous constitutions of Clarendon were agreed to, by which the powerful and numerous orders of ecclesiastics were subjected to the ordinary civil laws of the realm. In these constitutions also the perpetual appeals to Rome, a foreign power, were strictly limited. Becket, after some passionate resistance, yielded, but almost immediately repented his concession, and submitting himself to most severe penance, asked and received from the Pope absolution from the oath he had taken to support the decisions of the National Council of Clarendon. The result of this conduct was naturally a breach between Henry and Becket. The Archbishop fled to France, where for six years at Pontigny and at Sens, he lived the life of an austere Cistercian, to which ascetic order Becket had affiliated himself. The eyes of religious Europe were now fixed upon this statesman and prelate, playing the part of the suffering champion of Rome and of the rights of ecclesiastics, Henry II. being regarded as the Church's oppressor.

Far and wide were Becket's austerities talked of. Men told of his tears, his repentance for his past sins, his bitter penances, his persistent studies. No one perhaps will ever know the secret of that strange life, which not only influenced the men of his generation, but countless thousands who lived long after.

Was he a great saint or a consummate actor? is a question which will never cease to exercise the student of history. During his years of exile, in the midst of his austerities, which were not feigned, and which were noised abroad far and wide, he was not forgetful of the arts of intrigue and statecraft, and found an ample field for their exercise, for his former friend the Plantagenet king, from his position as lord of so many and such different nationalities, had many and deadly foes. From the Pope, from whom the exiled Archbishop obtained legatine powers, Becket threatened England with the terrible menace of an interdict.

But once more the king and Becket to the surprise of Europe came together and were reconciled. The causes which had separated them were by mutual consent left for a

future settlement. The meeting between the two at Fretteville between Chartres and Tours was seemingly cordial, and Becket returned to England, where, by the clergy, whose devoted champion he had shown himself, he was enthusiastically welcomed. His acts, however, on his return, arbitrary and even insolent, enraged the king. Henry II. whose passions were ungovernable, bitterly inveighed against the Archbishop, the royal words, spoken perhaps hastily, were taken as an invitation to put an end to that stormy life which was ever harassing and perplexing his sovereign. The story of the expedition of the four knights from Normandy, where Henry was residing, to Canterbury is well known. The tragic circumstances of the cruel murder of Becket in Canterbury Cathedral have been told and retold. Dead, Archbishop Becket was even more powerful than in life, and for a season the cause for which he had suffered martyrdom was triumphant. The statutes of Clarendon, the original source of the bitter quarrel between the king and the Primate, were abrogated. Henry humbled himself before the tomb of the martyred saint, and so obtained pardon from the church he had offended, and from Rome whose power he had defied. Becket was murdered in the year 1170. Six years later, however, in the "Assize of Northampton," A.D. 1176, with the consent, strange to say, of the Papal Legate, the right of the king to bring the clergy to secular courts for various crimes, the point which had been originally agreed on at Clarendon in A.D. 1164, was again formally admitted. Thus the wise legislation of Henry II. succeeded in the end in effecting those changes in ecclesiastical custom and privilege which in the earlier years of his reign had been so resolutely resisted by Becket and his party. The later laws of Henry II. went on in the same direction and prevented the Church from interfering in secular matters, save in the case of marriages and wills. The frequent presence, however, of a Roman official (the Legate) in England during this reign unchallenged and apparently welcomed, marks the gradual but enormous strides which Rome was making towards universal supremacy in ecclesiastical matters.

This final victory of the Plantagenet King in his desire to do away with the immunity of the clergy from the ordinary penalties of the Civil Law of England was bitterly resented by the ecclesiastical party in England who maintained that Becket had shed his blood in vain. But although the great principle for which Henry II. contended was now acknowledged, the spectacle of Becket's death went home to the hearts of the people in a way which perhaps no other recorded death of a mortal had ever done, and raised in an extraordinary degree the public estimation of the Order to which Becket belonged, and for which Becket had died. A long period in the story of England had to run before the memory of the Archbishop's death can be said to have been effaced from the hearts of the English people. For centuries he was the most popular saint in England, superseding almost entirely the loved memory of Dunstan. Far beyond England was Becket's memory cherished. No churches on the Continent of Europe are called after Cuthbert of Durham or after Edward the Martyr King of East-Anglia; but there is no country in Europe where traces of the cult of Becket cannot be found. Rome, Verona, Florence, Lisbon, and Palermo possessed memorials of the popular English saint. In France such memorials are numerous in all parts. We find them in the north at Douai and at Lille, in the south in Lyons. In the gorgeous windows of Chartres in the centre of France we read the story of part of the stirring life of the great English Churchman, the champion of ecclesiastical privileges. But naturally the centre of Becket's fame was Canterbury. For three centuries the long succession of pilgrimages to the martyr's tomb placed the Metropolitan Cathedral among the chief resorts of Christendom.

Literary activity in the days of Henry II.—The reign of Henry Plantagenet marked a great revival of literature in England, in which, as usual, the Church of England bore the chief part. The country had had time to recover from the terror and confusion which followed the Norman Conquest. The king was, as far as his busy, anxious life permitted, a

lover of letters, and his Court was a centre for scholars and writers. But the more solid work in literature was done in the famous cathedral schools, and in the writing-rooms and scriptoria of the more important religious houses. Here MSS. were being ever multiplied; luxurious and illuminated copies of various books were prepared. Chronicles were composed in prose and verse. Latin, the language of learning and of public worship, was a familiar tongue among the many scholarly and accomplished Churchmen of this age. And the last half of this twelfth century was notable for the springing up of a popular literature in Norman-French. Some of the old classics were translated into this widely-spread tongue. Wace, the canon of Bayeux, a well-known scholar and courtier of Henry II., wrote his famous "Roman de Rou," the story of his sovereign's Norman ancestors. Other poems were written in the same language, such as the "Life of the Martyr Becket." And thus an Anglo-Norman literature of history and of theology grew up in the days when Henry II. was king. But as yet *English*, the speech of the common folk, only lived on as a tongue, far apart from courtiers and men of letters, a vernacular literature was still a thing of the future.

The Influence and Work of the Monastic Orders in England from a.d. 1070 to end of the Twelfth Century.—During the reigns of the Norman kings, from the Conqueror to Cœur-de-Lion, roughly from A.D. 1070 to A.D. 1189, much of the inner life of the Church, and many of the sources of its influence among the people, must be sought for in the religious houses. Of these, an enormous number were founded in this period, the majority belonging to the *Benedictine* and *Cistercian* orders. We have already dwelt at some length on the dreary painful story of the 200 years which followed the death of Charlemagne, in the year 814, and how gradually in that period well-nigh all true and noble religious life was extinguished throughout the Continent of Europe; and we showed too how in the eleventh century a better state of things began; how the example of the Monastery of Cluny in Burgundy was followed in many centres, and

how an extraordinary zeal for monasteries sprang up in various countries. Among new orders which came into existence in this general revival, the "*Carthusian*" obtained a world-wide celebrity, and played eventually no small part in the monastic life in England. This was a stern austere order of monks who, in the year 1084, were first established by Bruno, one of the most illustrious of the eminent saints who, under God, restored the waning influence of the Church in the eleventh century.

But by far the most influential of the *new* orders which came into existence in the course of the great revival of religious life in Europe, and which spread so rapidly and widely in our own country, was the "*Cistercian.*" The mother-house of the famous order was *Citeaux* (whence the name Cistercian), some twelve miles from the Burgundian city of Dijon. The monks aimed at being Benedictines, but more austere Benedictines. Their rule was the Benedictine, but it was made stricter and more severe. They first attracted attention under the rule of the third abbot, the Englishman Stephen Harding, A.D. 1109. Many daughter-houses, rapidly established, bore witness to the growing favour of the new order. Devotion to the *Virgin Mary*, we have already shown, was one of the characteristic features of this age. The Cistercians believed that Mary was their especial patroness. Every monastery and every Cistercian church was dedicated to her. Different from the monks of Cluny and the old Benedictine houses, the Cistercians aimed at extreme simplicity of ritual. Their rule enjoined them to disregard architecture, and the kindred arts of painting, sculpture, and music; and although, as time went on, many of their first resolves in these particulars were modified, the stately magnificence of the Benedictine foundations never appeared in the Cistercian churches and monasteries. Very early in their career the new order appeared in England, and from Henry II.'s reign onward, until the days of the Reformation, in the sixteenth century, the Cistercians played a very prominent part in the religious life of England.

But what gave this ascetic order its great impulse, and per-

haps more than any other cause, was the occasion of its rapid growth and marvellous popularity, was its possession of *Bernard of Clairvaux* (a monastery in the Champagne country). Bernard, at an early age, became abbot of this monastery, one of the earlier daughter-houses of Citeaux. For forty years, in the first half of the twelfth century (Bernard died A.D. 1153) he was abbot of Clairvaux, world-famed owing to him, declining repeatedly the offer of some of the most important sees in Europe, such as Rheims, Langres, Milan, Genoa, Pisa. Bernard was acknowledged to be the foremost preacher of his age, and throughout his long career possessed boundless influence as the adviser and counsellor of all sorts and conditions of men, from the most powerful prince to the humblest of mankind. "He was at once the joy, and the honour and glory of the whole Catholic Church," said, in a later age, the great writer and scholar, Baronius, "the Church's leading and governing head." His generation looked on him as inspired, and under his influence, before his death in A.D. 1153, the Cistercian order he loved so well had spread over the whole of Europe, including our own island.

The Crusades owed much of their marvellous popularity to his fervid preaching and teaching. It was this Bernard who first took the Templar Knights under his wing, and his powerful patronage gave them their strong and influential position as warrior-monks—the standing army of the Crusaders. The Templars maintained their place and popularity in Europe for about a century and three quarters. During most of that time the Cistercians, following the example of Bernard, gave their support to, and were in close alliance with these Knight Templars.

As a theologian the Cistercian Bernard, this greatest of the mediæval monks, exercised vast influence over the teaching of the twelfth century. In the doctrine of the Eucharist his views were in some respects it seems identical with the teaching taken up by the Reformation masters, Ridley and Cranmer, considering that spiritually not corporeally the Lord was received in the Eucharist, and that only he who partakes of

the elements with responsive faith and love in his heart has the essence of the Sacrament.

The views, however, of Bernard of Clairvaux *here* were generally set aside, the grosser and more materialistic conception of the Eucharistic mystery being from various reasons more in harmony with the popular mediæval teaching. On another point which very largely influenced the theology of the Middle Ages the great monk was in harmony with the prevalent teaching of his age. In his exaggerated estimate of the Blessed Virgin, Bernard was influenced by that strange spirit of chivalry, to which we have already alluded as a special outcome of the Crusades. Men, so taught Bernard, might always look to her with joy, and with confident assurance of help and rescue amidst the darkness and anguish of life.

Of course the advocacy of such an one as Bernard did much to popularise this sad and extraordinary development of Church teaching, yet even the great Cistercian claimed far less for Mary than the later teaching of Rome struggled after. When in the year 1140 it was proposed at Lyons to institute a festival in honour of the "Immaculate Conception" of the Virgin, Bernard wrote, declaring that the proposed devotion was one of which the Church was ignorant, which reason did not approve or ancient tradition commend. "The Royal Virgin," he said, "needs no fictitious honours."

Two years before Bernard of Clairvaux's death, at the general chapter in A.D. 1151, the Cistercian Order numbered 500 houses. In the following century there were as many as 1800 monasteries which followed the rule of Citeaux. Eventually, even this number was much increased. In England after an existence of some four centuries, at the period of the dissolution, A.D. 1536-1540, there were about 100 Cistercian abbeys in addition to many smaller dependencies or cells. The Benedictines always exceeded them in numbers. At the same period of the dissolution the Benedictine monasteries may be roughly estimated at 160 to 170, the houses of Austin canons at 180, the Carmelite houses at 30 to 40, the establishments of Praemonstratensians at 20 to 24. Some

had been dissolved from various causes during the four hundred years of their existence in England, but these rough numbers will give some general idea of the influence and numbers of the great monastic orders in the Middle Ages when they were at the height of their power.

The result of this sudden monastic revival on English life has scarcely received due attention in our popular histories, and the work of "the monk" is often spoken lightly of and undervalued. The great wave which gave so powerful an impetus to Church life on the Continent of Europe reached England in the early years of Norman rule in our island. No intestine divisions, such as the desolating wars of Stephen and the Empress Matilda, stayed the progress of the monastic orders. One hundred and fifteen monasteries are computed to have been built during the nineteen war-harassed years of Stephen. One hundred and thirteen more of these religious houses were erected in the period of Henry II. the Plantagenet. Many of these monasteries with their abbey churches were marvels of beauty and of grace; in the case of the Benedictine and Cluniac houses these churches were usually richly adorned within as without. Not a few of the abbey churches were of vast size. When we think of these religious houses with their chapels, churches, and abbeys, and all the various and important buildings which make up a monastery, cloisters, hospitals, granaries, work-rooms, or when we consider the vast numbers of the dwellers in these communities employed in literary work, in works of art, in agriculture, even in commerce, and attempt to measure their influence, we must take into consideration, too, the comparatively small numbers of the entire population for whose service these mighty houses of prayer and teaching and work of all kinds were intended.

At most the population of England and Wales, when Henry II. was king, did not certainly amount to four millions, considerably less than the present number of the inhabitants of London! Probably this estimate is far too great.

They were, as we have styled them, these religious communities, Homes of Prayer, *but they were something more.*

We have noticed how in the outburst of literary activity in the famous Plantagenet's reign, the centre of all the zeal for learning were the writing-rooms and study-closets of the monks. They were too, these religious monks, the successful preachers of labour. To their patient industry and example was owing in England the reclamation of many a tract of desolate moorland, of many an unhealthy and useless swamp. Measureless, indeed, was their skill and patient labour in changing worthless tracts of country into corn lands and pastures. The monk of the early Middle Ages was the chief agriculturist. The monk, too, was famous for the breeding of horses before the thirteenth century had run its course. It was the monk who had made England the principal wool-growing country of Europe. His work in literature and art of all kinds is generally acknowledged—less known and less commonly acknowledged, however, is his work in agriculture and in the development of commerce.

The Mediæval Church from the thirteenth century onwards generally recognised four principal Monastic Orders, under which almost all the religious orders might be classed.

1. In the East, that of *St Basil.* This rule is retained by well-nigh all Oriental monks.

2. Rule of *St Augustine* (*St Austen*), adopted by the regular canons, by the Order of Praemonstratensians, and the Dominicans to some extent. The military orders, such as the Templars the Knight Hospitallers, belonged to this rule.

3. Rule of *St Benedict*, generally adopted, with certain modifications, by all the monks of the West. Besides the ordinary Benedictines, including the Cluniac Benedictines, the Order of Vallombrosa, the Carthusians, the Cistercians, and other less known communities recognised this rule as the basis of their special constitutions.

4. Rule of *St Francis*, adopted by the Mendicant Orders of the thirteenth century. The Dominicans adopted so much of the Franciscan rule which renounced all endowments.

The denomination "*monks*" is not properly given to the

"religious" who follow the rule of St Augustine or to the Mendicant Orders.

Reign of Richard Cœur de Lion—Inner life of the Church of England, a.d. 1189=1199.—The crusading fever was at its height when Richard Cœur de Lion succeeded his father, Henry II., in A.D. 1189. Richard was a typical princely soldier of the Cross. Recklessly brave, a skilful war-chief, often magnanimous and splendidly generous; war-loving, it is true, but his wars were waged for no mere selfish desire of acquiring more territory, or for increasing his already mighty power. And yet, in spite of these popular qualities, a bad man, in spite of his traditional fame, which has become a proverb in England. Richard of the Lion Heart was a man with a low standard of morality even for his own wild age; a careless ruler, an undutiful son, an unfaithful husband; little happiness or prosperity did he bring to his people, his Church, or his family. It was an evil spell which these strange religious wars cast over Western Christendom for a long series of years. The crusading fever even seized some of the leading Churchmen at this period. Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, in Cœur de Lion's reign, appeared with helmet and cuirass in the Holy Land, and died there, men say, of a broken heart at the sight of the awful suffering and the nameless sins he witnessed in his campaigning experiences. His successor, Bishop Hubert Walter of Salisbury, was the King of England's comrade and companion in the Holy War, and probably obtained the primacy as a guerdon for his loyal friendship. Hubert Walter, however, proved a faithful and earnest statesman-prelate in a stormy age.

In Richard's day, as might have been expected, the Church of England made no great strides either in learning or in influence; still it held its own, everything though was subordinated to the one great passion for the Crusades, and immense sums were diverted from all the more practical objects of life to the furtherance of these costly so-called holy wars.

We get some idea of *the inner life and discipline* of the Church of England from the canons of certain important contemporary Synods—such as the Synods of Westminster, A.D. 1175, York, A.D. 1195, and Westminster, A.D. 1200, the two last held under the presidency of the Archbishop Hubert Walter.

From these canons we see the extreme difficulty of enforcing the celibacy of the clergy, that rule so insisted upon by the most influential teachers of the Church of the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries as necessary for the work and progress of the Church. Other canons dealt severely with the too prevailing habit among ecclesiastics of indulgence in eating and drinking, or of affecting a civilian dress. Simony again was evidently not unknown at that time. Generally speaking, however, no laxity in living or in morals was lightly passed over.

Great care was evidently exercised to prevent any carelessness or slovenliness in the performance of Divine service. Elaborate rules were made for archdeacons at their visitations. The holy Eucharist was especially provided for, and the vessels used in the holy rite were to be worthy of the sacred office. The clergy in outlying villages, as well as in the centres of population, were carefully watched over. It is interesting to find that these things were not by any means neglected, even in the period when the crusading fever was the one absorbing passion among men. In the abbeys and in cathedral churches evidently an extraordinary magnificence of ritual was maintained.

Reign of John—Patriotism of the Church in face of the pretensions of Rome.—To pass from the inner life of the Church to its work and influence in the higher region of statesmanship, we find the great ecclesiastics of Richard Cœur de Lion, John, and Henry III., generally worthy of the patriotic traditions of their historic Church, not merely mindful of the rights of the Church, but ever fighting the battle of the people. Conspicuous among these champions of popular right were such men as St Hugh of

Lincoln, Hubert Walter of Canterbury, Stephen Langton of Canterbury, and a little later Grosseteste of Lincoln. The patriotism of the Church was shown most conspicuously during the evil reign of John who followed his brother Richard of the Lion Heart upon the throne in A.D. 1199. King John and the Canterbury monks disagreed as to a successor to Hubert Walter in the Primacy. Rome was appealed to. The reigning Pontiff, Innocent III., was one of the most eminent and astute of the long line of Romish bishops; he saw here his opportunity to assert his supreme authority, and putting aside the king and the Canterbury chapter, insisted on his own nominee, Cardinal Stephen Langton, his personal friend and a most distinguished scholar being consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury. John refused his consent. Innocent III. in consequence, in the year 1208, placed England under an interdict: an interdict was a grave matter and signified an almost total cessation of public church services. For some six years the abbeys and churches of England were virtually shut up. During this period the hatred towards John, owing to his evil and tyrannical government, grew in intensity. In the end terrified at home and abroad, John made an abject submission to the Pope, A.D. 1213, positively surrendering his kingdom to Innocent III., and receiving it back again as a Papal vassal. Stephen Langton was now recognised as Primate.

From this time began the great struggle between John and the barons of England. In the early days which followed the Conquest the powerful barons were the oppressors of the people. The Crown and the Church were the defenders of the people's rights. But gradually the power shifted. The strong arm and astute policy of Henry II. broke the excessive authority of the nobles, and under the Angevin monarchs, Henry II., and his sons, the influence of the Crown increased enormously. John stood face to face with his people an unmitigated tyrant of the worst kind. The Church, ever the people's friend, ranged itself on the side of the enfeebled nobles and extorted from John the great Charter of Freedom (Magna Carta). At the head of this strong combination which accomplished so

great a work in the story of England, stood Langton the Archbishop, and behind him the Church of England.

The first clause of Magna Carta secured the rights of the Church, pronouncing that the Church of England was free—was independent alike of the Crown and of Rome. Bitterly though was the patriotic action of Langton and the Church resented by Rome. At the request of John, Innocent III. presumed to annul Magna Carta, suspending from his high office the patriot Archbishop Langton. But in spite of Innocent III.'s high-handed procedure, Magna Carta remained the Charter of English Freedom. John's sudden death happened in the year following the signing of the famous Charter, A.D. 1216.

Fourth Lateran Council, a.d. 1215.—Very shortly after the historic gathering at Runnymede Innocent III. held the fourth Lateran Council near the close of the year 1215. At this Council, a canon was passed giving the first formal synodical authority to the novel doctrine of Transubstantiation. Another canon of considerable importance was the outcome of this Council. It was the first which enjoined generally Sacramental Confession, it directed every believer, at least once in the year, to make solitary confession of all his sins to the priest, and to study to the utmost of his power to fulfil the penance enjoined him, reverently receiving the sacrament of the Eucharist at least at Easter. Otherwise, so ran the canon, let him while living be denied entrance into the Church, and at death be deprived of Christian burial.

Reign of Henry III.—Increasing claims of Rome.—During the long, favourite-haunted reign of Henry III., A.D. 1216, the pretensions of Rome to interfere with the affairs of the Church of England were stoutly asserted, pretensions which had been enormously increased owing to the acts of John. Rome now, through her legates, demanded vast sums from the English Church, notably in A.D. 1229, a tenth of all property, claiming too, the right to appoint if it pleased to the Primacy. In 1240 a Papal Brief was sent to England in which three hundred Roman clergy were required to be pro-

vided for out of the first vacant benefices. Rome too, asserted its right to the patronage of English churches. A steady flow of appeals to Rome produced a feeling of universal unrest in the Church, perpetually suggesting insubordination and disorder.

The more influential among the higher ecclesiastics, as we have already mentioned, indignantly resisted the ever increasing shameless demands of Rome. The patriotic policy of Archbishop Langton, once the intimate friend of Innocent III., has been dwelt upon. The saintly Edmund Rich of Canterbury, afterwards canonised, was equally determined to resist Italian usurpation. But the foremost champion of the invaded rights of the Church of England in this age was Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, who passed away in A.D. 1253. No prelate of his time exercised so great an influence in England as Grosseteste. At once a scholar and a great pastor, he was deservedly held in the highest honour by all ranks and orders. Grosseteste was untiring in his efforts to counteract the evil effects which the weight of the dead hand of Rome worked in his loved Church. The facts of the shameless avarice of Rome, the number of foreigners forced upon the English Church, he repeatedly exposed in clear scathing language, thus preparing the way for the stern, anti-Papal Acts of Parliament we shall shortly have to record.

The Coming of the Mendicant Friars.—The most momentous change in Church life in the thirteenth century (reign of Henry III.) was, without doubt, that brought about by the coming of the Mendicant Friars.[1] They attained a position of vast power with extraordinary rapidity. The reason for this swift growth in numbers and in power is not far to seek, for they supplied a great and urgent want. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries a *comparative* quiet and stillness had succeeded the long-drawn-out and desolating invasions and raids of the North-folk. This stillness had been favourable to the growth of commerce and population.

[1] A.D. 1224 is the date of the arrival of the first Franciscan Missionaries at Canterbury.

Numerous and important cities had sprung up, or had been largely increased. In England as on the Continent, other causes too were at work which contributed to the augmentation of city population; a crowd of uncared-for ones, ever on the increase, thronged the poorer quarters of cities. Varied sickness and terrible disease, such as leprosy introduced largely by the Crusaders from the East, were ever present among these neglected dwellers in towns. The provision made by the monasteries and cathedrals for the spiritual life and help for the poor sufficed for the old state of things; but swiftly alongside the older population, a new population, poorer far, was growing up for whom no one cared.

A young Italian merchant of Assisi, an Umbrian city, was the first to recognise the need of new help for these forlorn and desolate ones. The zeal and fervour of this Francis of Assisi gathered round him a devoted band of brothers, who gave their lives to these sorrowful ones, especially to those smitten with the loathsome malady of leprosy. The little band grew in numbers. In the year 1219 they numbered already some five thousand. They prided themselves on their deep poverty—poor, ragged preachers and ministrants to the poor and sick, they literally took the world by storm. Their wondrous success in many lands was acknowledged and wondered at. In A.D. 1224 a small company of these Italian missionaries to the very poor and suffering, came to England. Everything at first seemed against them. Ragged, penniless, without protectors, speaking too a foreign tongue, despised and, at first, even ridiculed, the little band of nine, for that was all they numbered at first, multiplied with strange rapidity. Within thirty years of their first arrival at Canterbury, the English followers of Francis of Assisi amounted to over a thousand; they possessed as many as forty-nine houses in such cities as London, Oxford, Cambridge, York, Hereford, Norwich, and Bristol. On the whole, after the first surprise and astonishment, they were generally received with a pitying favour, occasionally even with enthusiasm.

In their earlier days they rejected all learning, they were

even forbidden to use books, or even parchment or ink. They gradually found out that here they were wrong, and setting aside the earlier injunctions of their founder Francis (the English Franciscans especially) they became gradually the most learned body in Europe, preserving much of their reputation until the day came when Henry VIII. broke up their organisation and confiscated their poor possessions.

From the first, their devoted labours among the lepers, the plague-stricken and the fever-racked sufferers of the dregs of a city population led them to the study of medicine and induced them to set aside the early rule of their founder, which forbade them the use of all books and writing; and from medicine they passed to other studies till, strangely enough, the rough robe of the Mendicant Friar became often the garb of the most profound scholar.[1]

Side by side with the Franciscans, well-nigh as numerous, and with much the same methods of working, arose *another order of Mendicant Friars*, professing the same utter poverty, and powerfully influencing by their preaching and teaching all Church and religious life in England. These were the followers of Dominic the Spaniard, an Augustinian Canon of Osma in Old Castille. In the earlier years of Dominic's career his special mission in life was to combat certain false beliefs and heresies which had grown up in the regions of Provence and Languedoc. His fame as a fervid and arresting preacher gradually made him a conspicuous figure in the Catholic Church of his day and he became a great power. A little order of preachers gathered round him. It seems probable that the success of the Franciscans induced Dominic and his disciples to adopt their method of life, and they too made a formal profession of poverty. The earliest band of

[1] Very early in their strange story, we find Robert Kilwarby, a Franciscan friar, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Bonaventure, the General of the Order, refusing the Arch-See of York. Jerome of Ascoli, General after Bonaventure, was elected Pope under the name of Nicholas IV. We come, too, upon such famous names as Alexander Hales, Roger Bacon, and Duns Scotus, all of these Franciscans, men who rank among the most distinguished scholars of the Middle Ages.

Dominican Friars came to England in the year 1221, just three years before the coming of the Franciscans. They never, however, obtained the same hold upon the people's affections as did the Franciscan brotherhood, and we possess comparatively few details as to their early work in England. It seems that in most places where the Franciscans settled here, in the same place there was a Dominican House—numerically they were not far behind them. The rivalry between the two great Mendicant Orders only began at a later period, the Dominican rather addressing his preaching to the more cultured classes, the Franciscan, ever true to the first traditions of his order, always labouring among the poorest of the people. As time went on, the Dominicans, like the Franciscans, equally shared in the possession of the most learned men in Europe. Some time after their arrival, no considerable town in England was without a Franciscan and Dominican settlement.

Doctrinally, at least at first, there was a striking likeness in the teaching of Francis and Dominic. They both shared in the dominant error of the Middle Ages, teaching the most exaggerated reverence for the Blessed Virgin. Indeed to later theologians, with their truer and more scriptural estimation of her who was verily "blessed among women," the raptures of the spiritual adulation of the Mendicant Friars seems as bordering on wild profanation, the Dominican Orders regarding the Virgin as their special protectress. Both the great Mendicant Orders became devoted adherents of the Roman supremacy. Their influence, which reached its highest point in the latter part of the thirteenth century, in no European country was greater than in England. This influence was maintained with little diminution until the general suppression in the years 1536-1540, when the numbers of the Mendicants in England were computed generally as follows:—

	No. of English Houses.	No. of Friars.
Franciscans . . .	60	660
Dominicans . .	53	472
Austin Friars . . .	42	378
Carmelites . . .	36	288

Of the two last-named orders, the *Austin or Augustinian* Friars were made up of many small communities, and were brought under one rule or obedience by Pope Alexander IV. They took root in England some years later than the Franciscans but, like the Carmelites, never obtained the influence won by the two great orders founded by Francis and Dominic.

The *Carmelites*, called in England the White Friars, traditionally belonged to a community of hermits settled on Mount Carmel. They were introduced into this country during the early years of the teaching and preaching of the Dominicans and Franciscans. These Carmelites, like the two greater orders, were distinguished for their ardent devotion to the Virgin. Pope Honorius III. even directed that they should be styled "the family of the most blessed Virgin Mary."

General Summary of the Position of the Church in the Thirteenth Century.—There is no doubt but that in many respects during the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries the Church had made real progress. The Monastic system had been revived, reformed, and vastly augmented by the foundation of many new communities. *In learning* the Church reigned absolutely supreme. The universities and schools belonged to her. Ecclesiastics were almost the only historians and poets. The character of *the Papacy* had been restored, and it had become the centre of the Western Church. In this general Church revival England had borne a distinguished part—not only among the masses of the people was its influence very great, but the Church of England during the reign of the Norman and Plantagenet kings had occupied in *the government* of the country a peculiarly important position. The ministers and advisers of the Crown from the days of Edward the Confessor to the time of Henry III. had been, in a great majority of cases, chosen from the ranks of Churchmen. The English Church, too, since the Norman Conquest, had ceased to be an insular church, with its interests and life mainly confined to the island. It had become part of the great Latin Communion, and while this change had vastly increased its

power, it had to a certain extent subjected it to the influence of an alien domination, that of the Pope. Other circumstances had, as we have seen, largely contributed to this state of things. Thus, while in many respects the Church had made undoubted progress, a grave source of danger existed from this subjection to Rome. It was a position emphatically alien to the spirit of the English people.

Yet, in spite of defilements which kept creeping into it, in spite of doctrinal errors which ever kept disturbing its higher teaching, the Mediæval Church of the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the Church of Latin Christianity, of which England was an important member, with its vast army of "religious," with its countless abbeys and churches, monasteries and schools, all through these centuries of confusion, conquest, and selfish greed, stood out upon the whole as the great bulwark of the oppressed against cruel tyranny, played the part of the one monitor to whom the great and powerful chose to listen, and often to obey. In spite of all its errors and shortcomings, the Latin Church in England as on the Continent of Europe was the salt which preserved society during this rough iron age from corruption and helpless misery. Now the darkest spot in the life of the Church of England in the first seventy years of the thirteenth century was the baleful influence of Rome. The coming and going of a succession of Papal Legates claiming power to supersede the government of the Primate and his suffragans; the constant exaction of large sums of money to support Papal claims and extravagance; the claim often insisted upon to appoint to bishoprics, abbacies and important benefices; the encouragement to appeal to the Papal Court—all these things produced a feeling of intense irritation among Churchmen as well as among laymen, and the name of Rome grew more hateful to Englishmen as the thirteenth century advanced.

Reign of Edward I.—Statute of Mortmain—Inner Life of the Church at this Period.—The accession to the English throne of Edward I., in 1272, for a time put a check on these disastrous claims of Rome.

Edward I. was an ambitious, power-loving monarch, but he possessed in the highest degree the great qualities of his House, and he steadily resisted the exorbitant and ruinous pretensions of the Italian Bishop, who claimed such awful powers over the Church of a foreign land. Edward I. was one of the greatest of the Kings of England, and was strong enough to carry out his purpose of freeing the National Church for a brief season from the bonds imposed by Rome. He was a harsh and imperious, though on the whole a just, ruler, and while he freed the Church from many of the unjust claims of Rome, he insisted that that Church, with her enormous wealth, should join in bearing the national burdens. Some of the requirements he made upon the ecclesiastical body were undoubtedly onerous and even unfair. His famous statute of "Mortmain," [1] however, no fair judging church critic can find fault with. Fair too and useful was his legislation on the ever-disputed question of the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts.

But the tyrannical assumptions of Rome, swept aside by the strong hand of Edward I., were only in abeyance, as we shall notice they soon reappeared.

All through this century (the thirteenth) in what we have termed the inner life of the Church, there was no lack of discipline among the ecclesiastics; the decrees and acts of various Councils and Synods bear testimony to the ceaseless watchfulness of the rulers of the Church of England. For instance in the provincial synod of Reading under the presidency of Peckham the Franciscan Archbishop of Canterbury from A.D. 1279 to A.D. 1292, we come upon allusions to the frequent disregard of the celibacy enactment by many of the clergy, and we read of strict regulations as to infant baptism. At the

[1] The statute in question forbade the acquisition of land by the "religious" or others, in such wise that the land should come into "Mortmain" (dead hand). Endowments of lands and property were being constantly bestowed by will or otherwise upon monasteries or ecclesiastical bodies, so that the services belonging to the lands in question due to the king or other lords were for ever lost, as the persons to whom the lands were granted were incapable of fulfilling legal obligations.

Council of Lambeth, A.D. 1281, greater reverence of priests towards the sacrament of the altar is enjoined. Many details here are given. Confirmation, somewhat neglected apparently, is pressed upon parish priests. Nuns are forbidden to wander abroad. Again extravagance of dress on the part of the clergy is sternly forbidden. Decent church furniture is imperatively required to be provided. Repairs to the churches within and without were to be attended to. In the Council of Oxford, A.D. 1322, strict directions were issued on the subject of the examination of candidates for Holv Orders. Fresh regulations respecting the publication of oanns of marriage were issued. Further strict injunctions as to care in all things connected with the Holy Eucharist were published. The clergy were forbidden to receive confession from women in private.

Early in Edward III.'s reign at a Council held at Mayfield in Sussex by Archbishop Mepeham, where the question of keeping religiously certain holy days was carefully dealt with, we come upon one of the graver doctrinal errors which so seriously affected Mediæval Church teaching. The special object of keeping these saints' days was set forth to be "that Catholics may deserve to have the saints, whose feasts they may have celebrated, for assiduous intercession with God."

Reign of Edward II.—Fall of the Knights Templars.—It was well indeed for the Church of England that Edward III., a sovereign of conspicuous ability and force of character, succeeded the weak and pleasure-loving Edward II. on the throne, for during the second Edward's reign, the haughty pretensions of Rome to sovereign power over the Church of England so largely ignored during the period of strong rule which characterised the reign of the first Edward, were vigorously pressed again. Arbitrary decrees of the Papal power, although sorely weakened and discredited by events we shall shortly notice, were acknowledged generally in England in Edward II.'s time, A.D. 1307-1327, and under the baleful shadow of Rome the administration of ecclesiastical affairs all through the reign was largely carried on.

Before, however, dwelling on the stern Anti-Papal legisla-

tion of Edward III., a terrible episode which marked the decay of the crusading fervour cannot be passed over. The fall of the Knights Templars was brought about through the greed of Philippe-le-bel, King of France, who coveted their vast possessions. Terrible accusations were brought against this community of knightly monks—"the standing Crusading army." They were condemned, but the accusations brought against them were absolutely unproven, and posterity completely acquits the great order of the graver accusations levelled against it. In France their fall was accompanied with acts of unprecedented barbarity. The leading knights were tortured and burned, and their possessions confiscated by the Crown. In other lands the historic order was suppressed, literally stamped out of being, but generally unaccompanied with the shameful cruelties which cast so lurid a light over their fall in France. Only in Italy, under the influence of the Pope who hated the order and was besides the tool of France, was the evil example of Philippe-le-bel in some degree followed. After ages have marvelled at this sudden catastrophe, asking naturally how it came to pass that the nations of Europe so calmly acquiesced in so great a wrong. The truth was the Templars had done their work. The Crusades after the enormous expenditure of lives and treasure had accomplished nothing after two centuries of effort. Jerusalem had again fallen into the hands of the Infidel, and the many fortresses established by the armies of the Cross in the East had been retaken or abandoned. The Templars had lost their *raison d'être*, and their large possessions were coveted. Their over-weening pride, their independence of all civil and religious control, had stirred up in all lands countless enemies. They fell literally unpitied and unregretted. But the calm judgment of later ages with scarce a dissential voice views the circumstances which accompanied their suppression with stern condemnation.

Reign of Edward III.—The Anti-Papal legislation.—The long and outwardly glorious reign of Edward III. (A.D. 1327-1377) is memorable in the story of the Church of England, because in it were passed the famous

Anti-Papal statutes which restrained, more or less effectually, the ever-growing attempts of Rome to reduce the English Church to a state of blind obedience to the will of the reigning Pope.

None of the Papal usurpations gave juster and deeper offence to the English people than the Bishop of Rome's strange claim to the right of "providing" for the entire patronage of all the higher preferments, a right which, as we have remarked, he not unfrequently exercised. Edward III. at first addressed a strong remonstrance in this matter to Rome, but the Pope's reply was arrogant, even contemptuous. In the year 1351 the first *Statute of Provisors* was passed by the Estates of the realm, in which it was enacted that any person accepting a "Provision" of the Pope was to be imprisoned and fined, and not to be released till he had given security that he would not transgress again, or sue for redress in any foreign court. This important statute swept away the right of Rome to present to any English preferment from a simple benefice to the Arch-See of Canterbury.[1]

This important statute was formally re-enacted on several subsequent occasions, notably twice in the reign of Edward III., and again in the reigns of Richard II., Henry IV., and Henry V.

Two years after the passing of the statute of "Provisors," in A.D. 1353, a yet more direct blow was aimed at Papal usurpations in the well-known statute of "Praemunire,"[2] by which all appeals to Rome and its courts were forbidden and made penal. This statute was very definite, and subjected anyone, who should draw out of the realm any plea belonging to the King of England's Court, should appear before the King's justices to answer for the contempt. The severest penalties

[1] In A.D. 1333, for instance, Pope John, formally ignoring any English rights, simply appointed John Stratford to the Archbishopric of Canterbury, not because of any election of the Canterbury Chapter, but simply of his own will. This was no solitary or unusual incident!

[2] This statute derived its name from the first word of the writ. "Præmunire," a word fairly common in mediæval use, signifies to forewarn. (Præmunire facias præfatum, A.B., &c.)

were attached to this contempt. This statute was re-enacted in A.D. 1365. In A.D. 1366 the tribute paid since the days of King John to the Pope was formally repudiated.

It would seem at first strange that these stern and decisive measures which struck so hard at the power and measureless influence so long exercised by the Popes in England were not resisted by some of those terrible weapons of spiritual warfare which Innocent III. wielded with such disastrous effect in the days of King John—excommunication and interdict. The truth was that in the fourteenth century the Papal power had sunk into a state of degradation and impotence, such as had not been witnessed since the great Church revival in the eleventh century.

The year 1305 witnessed the election of a Gascon, Bernard de Goth, Archbishop of Bordeaux, to the Papacy under the title of Clement V. This election was due to the intrigues and power of the King of France. From this date, for some seventy years, the Bishops of Rome were little more than satellites of the French King, and their permanent home during this long period was not Rome but Avignon. This period of French Popes, whose threats of interdict England could afford to despise, lasted from A.D. 1305 to A.D. 1376. The "Babylonish Captivity" of the Papacy, as it has been termed, was succeeded by thirty-eight more years of a terrible schism, during which Western Christendom divided its allegiance between two rival Pontiffs, the one reigning in France, the other in Italy. The fatal schism was not healed until the year 1415, when the two claimants of the high dignity were both deposed at the Council of Constance. The election of Martin V. by that Council put an end to the unedifying division, and once more the Papal power resumed something of its ancient pre-eminence and dignity. It was during this period, lasting from 108 to 110 years, that the famous Anti-Papal laws in succession were placed on the English Statute Book. When the Papacy recovered its former grandeur and influence, it was, happily for England, too late to bring back the old and unhappy state of things.

It was in the years of surpassing glory and pride for England following the victory of Creçi when the warrior-king Edward III. was at the height of his fame, and England had through his successful wars won the first place among the nations of the West, that the greatest calamity which ever befel the Mediæval Church of England must be dated. A terrible pestilence, popularly known as the "black death," made its appearance along the track of the trade routes from Asia to Europe. In A.D. 1348 the awful pest desolated the chief cities of Italy and France. Allowing for some exaggerations it is clear that enormous numbers perished. In the year 1349 the black death made its appearance in England. All the more important towns seem alike to have suffered terribly. The principal monastic centres of Benedictines, Cistercians, and Mendicant Friars alike were visited with extreme severity. After the awful scourge they never again were what they had been. It has indeed been computed that something like two-thirds of the "religious" and clergy of England were carried off by this fatal sickness. The Franciscan annalist attributes to the frightful mortality of this fatal plague the decay of fervour evident throughout his own order. "The masters of regular discipline and the seniors of experience being carried off, the rigours of discipline being relaxed, could not be renewed by the youths received without the necessary training rather to fill the depopulated houses." And as in the mighty order of which the Franciscan annalist writes, so in the whole Church. At that time, says another writer, there was everywhere such a dearth of priests that many churches were left without the Divine offices—Mass, Vespers, Matins, Sacraments!

There is indeed no doubt but that much of the disorder in the Church on which we are about to dwell, was owing to this crushing calamity which in a few months swept out of life so vast a proportion of the clergy, nearly two-thirds of the whole number, including, doubtless, many of the most devoted who in the performance of their pastoral duties, fell in the forefront of the awful battle with deadly sickness.

The Mediæval Church never recovered the effects of the

great calamity, it being absolutely certain that, in tone as well as in numbers, the various religious bodies had not recovered the ground lost during the years of the black death by the time of the Reformation.

Wyclif, the Reformer — His attack on the Church.—The second half of the fourteenth century witnessed the attack made by the reformer *Wyclif* upon the Church of England and her ministers; he pointed out too certain grave errors which he alleged were contained in her public teaching. The controversy stirred up by Wyclif roughly may be dated A.D. 1366 to A.D. 1384, and the period corresponds to the latter years of Edward III., and a portion of the reign of Richard II.

Various circumstances contributed to the feeling of discontent with the Church at this period of her history (1.) The black death had swept away certainly considerably more than half of the monks and ministers of religion, and in the ranks of those then lost, were many of the most earnest and devoted. The gaps thus made were very slowly and imperfectly filled. (2) The Papal tyranny upon which we have dwelt was a very real and ever present source of dissatisfaction (the Anti-Papal legislation of Edward III. being too often as time went on evaded). Widespread, indeed, were its disastrous effects. (3) The Mendicant Friars, whose coming to England had been productive of so much earnest work, had become exceedingly influential, very numerous and powerful. A century and a quarter of popular favour, alas! had sadly sapped their first zeal. They had done noble work, many were still doing it, but grave abuses had crept in among them, jealousies had sprung up, their comparative freedom from Church discipline had been abused, and there is no doubt but that at the period when Wyclif wrote and preached, a crowd of impudent mendicants too often brought discredit upon their order and the cause they professed to serve. (4) The great wealth the Church possessed, largely independent of the State and free from many of the responsibilities of property, stirred up abundance of hostile criticism from friends and foes alike.

Yet we must be heedful of entertaining too low an estimate of the life and influence of the Church in the latter years of the fourteenth century, an estimate easily arrived at by reading the scathing words of Wyclif's writings. In spite of many shortcomings, the Church of England was still a mighty power for good in the land; in her ranks there



WYCLIF.
(*From the Portrait at King's College, Cambridge.*)

were doubtless many humble and devoted parish priests, for instance, like the one whom Chaucer the contemporary popular poet says of in one of his well-known portraits of men and women whom he met with daily.

There were though many grave weaknesses, many abuses, much false doctrine, teaching based upon no scriptural foundation, in the Mediæval Church during the century and a half

which immediately preceded the Reformation. The character of many of the clergy, as we have noticed, had sadly deteriorated after the ravages of the black death. The monasteries contained fewer, while the ranks of the unemployed priests were increased. A yet graver cause for uneasiness existed in the gradual increase of superstitions—the adoration of images which professedly worked marvels, the pilgrimages to notable shrines, the adoration paid to the blessed Virgin. Wyclif had good reason indeed for many of his protests.

Scant justice has been done him in Church history, considering his vast learning and his splendid earnestness. He has never been a favourite hero in the English Church. Much of what is known of him is derived from the writings of men who disliked and feared him. His memory was execrated, and his teaching condemned after his death. Still, there is no doubt that, mingled with his just views respecting the absolute independence of the Church of England of all Roman interference, with his intense desire that *the Holy Scriptures* should be read by all sorts and conditions of men, with his true conception of certain important doctrinal truths, there are points in his teaching which no serious Churchman or statesman could have accepted. His views on Church property are impossible, are certainly based on misapprehension, and would, if carried out, have led only to confusion and anarchy. His teaching on Church orders was often in the highest degree faulty, and tended rather to lawlessness and disorder. The just historian must though give all honour to the fearless scholar and reformer who, with splendid courage, attacked and condemned well-nigh all the errors which had gradually crept in and were sapping the life of Mediæval Christianity, and which in the end were generally swept away by the Teutonic peoples who adopted the principles of the Reformation of the sixteenth century, such as pardons, indulgences, excommunications, pilgrimages, and the unreasoning submission to the Popes of Rome, the source of so much mischief. Images, at least of the persons of the blessed Trinity, he utterly condemned. Of his doctrines, his teaching

respecting the sacrament of the altar was perhaps the most far-reaching in its results. The grosser theory of Transubstantiation Wyclif denied in his teaching respecting the Spiritual Presence in the Eucharist. This view of his respecting the Holy Eucharist was formally condemned in 1382. But his greatest and most enduring work was the giving to England *the first English Bible*. His translation was made from the Latin (Vulgate) version, and he tells us he was assisted in this work by some of his friends. In 1408, at a synod at Oxford, under the presidency of Archbishop Arundel, *all* Wyclif's writings were condemned, and it was made heresy to possess any version of the Bible not authorised by the Church. The effect of this synodical decision was virtually to exclude all *English* versions of the Holy Scriptures, as no English translation had received such official sanction.

Wyclif and his attempts at reform were thus stamped out by Archbishop Arundel and the leaders of the English Church. But his opinion still influenced a vast number of persons of all ranks, and after his death, under the uncertain name of Lollards,[1] his disciples were very numerous; and as time went on, under this common appellation, were gathered every species of religious malcontents, and with them not a few of the discontented class which never dies out in a civilised community, a class ever ready for disturbance and revolt. All these availed themselves of the popular name of the followers of the great reformer, and eventually brought the gravest discredit and distrust upon the earnest men with whom they were grouped.

Blindness of the Church to the Signs of the Times—The new Learning—The Printing Press. —Wyclif died in the year 1384. During the remaining years of the fourteenth century and all through the following century, perhaps with the exception of Cardinal Archbishop Morton, the minister of Henry VII., no really great Church-

[1] The term "Lollard" in its derivation and exact meaning is a doubtful one. It was a term of opprobrium invented apparently by the Church party, and it generally signified a loquacious, garrulous person.

man appeared in England. The leading ecclesiastics were for the most part statesmen rather than ecclesiastics; during this period the old errors in teaching remained unchecked, becoming every year more apparent, the old abuses were uncorrected, and no efforts were really made to improve an organisation which had been effectual in past times to control and to guide, but which sorely needed revision and reformation. After the termination of the great Papal schism at the Council of Constance, and the election of Pope Martin V., A.D. 1417, the power of Rome became greater and more far-reaching than ever, and the Roman supremacy over the Church of England grew again oppressive. More and more were the famous anti-Papal Acts neglected.

As the fifteenth century advanced great events were happening in the Western World. In the year 1453 Constantinople was taken by the Turks, and through the influence of the Greek exiles from the doomed city *Greek literature* became diffused through the Western centres of civilisation. *The new learning* became the common property of the West. In A.D. 1476 *Printing* was introduced into England, and the last quarter of the century (the fifteenth) saw a vast number of printed books and pamphlets scattered over Europe.

All these wonder-working changes—the new learning, the marvellous invention of printing, the great awakening of the people under Wyclif and his followers—were ignored by the men to whom the charge of the Church was entrusted. But a time of great changes was at hand.

How deeply rooted were Mediæval corruptions and doctrinal errors ever in the minds of the more able and devoted Church teachers and writers, is manifest from the works of Reginald Pecock, an Oxford scholar, successively Bishop of St Asaph and of Chichester. Pecock was a distinguished controversialist of his day, an eloquent preacher and a voluminous writer. His best known work, entitled "The Repressor of overmuch blaming of the Clergy," was put out first about A.D. 1451, and considered from the standpoint of the defenders of the system which Bishop Pecock laboured to up-

hold, was a masterly performance. It is to the student of English Mediæval Church history very valuable, for it clearly sets forth some of the doctrines and authoritative teachings of the Church just before the era of the Reformation which were most seriously controverted by the Reformers. It contains an elaborate apology for the use and even for the adoration of images and of the widely-spread superstitious practice of pilgrimage in the English Church of the fifteenth century. Pecock also stoutly defended the very general employment of prelates in State duties, a practice which necessitated their absence for indefinite periods from their dioceses. He was also a zealous advocate of the Papal supremacy and widespread influence in all Church matters. Curiously enough this great apologist of the errors of Mediæval teaching and customs died in disgrace and obscurity. Probably this strange guerdon for a life spent in defending the teaching and practices of his Church was owing to his persistent opposition to the influence of the mendicant orders. Pecock died A.D. 1459.

Cardinal Morton and others of the higher ecclesiastics on the eve of the Reformation.—By far the most eminent of the great prelates in the period immediately preceding the Reformation upheaval of the first half of the sixteenth century was Cardinal Morton, Bishop of Ely A.D. 1479, and Primate from A.D. 1486 to A.D. 1500. As the Minister of the reign of Henry VII., Sir Thomas More, wrote of him as "a man not more to be venerated for his high rank than for his wisdom and virtue." Morton was well aware of some of the grave defects in the ecclesiastical system of his time, and made certain serious efforts at reformation. But he seems to have been unconscious of the doctrinal errors which were sapping the life of the later Mediæval Church, and probably use and custom had blinded him to the fatal effects and to the evil example of non-residence set by so many of the more prominent Churchmen, not a few of whom held several important benefices at the same time. To give examples of this glaring wrong in the practices of the Church of the later years of the fifteenth century: Richard Fox, one

of the most distinguished and influential prelates in the reign of Henry VII.—was consecrated Bishop of Exeter in A.D. 1487—was translated to Bath and Wells in 1491 and to Durham in 1494, and is said never to have seen his cathedral at Exeter or to have set foot in his diocese of Bath and Wells. This prelate also held the wealthy and powerful Abbey of St Albans "in commendam." A few years later Cardinal Wolsey, on the eve of the great upheaval of the English Reformation, held *together* the Archbishopric of York, the Sees of Lincoln, Tournai and Winchester, and the Abbey of St Albans. He was also a Cardinal, Legate a latere, and Chancellor of Henry VIII. It does not appear that he ever formally resided in any of his sees save for a short period in the Arch-Diocese of York *after* his fall from power.

Such like flagrant abuses among the higher ecclesiastics Morton was apparently unconscious of, although it is clear, from his well-known "Pastoral" addresses to the Bishop of London, that he held stern views of the duty and responsibility attaching to the priestly office. Morton also had grave suspicions that laxity and carelessness prevailed in some at least of the monastic establishments, and he obtained a Bull from Innocent VII. enabling him to visit such religious houses. But nothing really came of his pastoral visitations. There is no doubt that his ceaseless duties as a statesman too effectually blinded his eyes as to the grave condition of affairs in the Church over which he presided. Attempts at reformation were certainly made by Morton and Warham, who was Primate from A.D. 1502 to A.D. 1532; but the reforms attempted, utterly failed to touch the root of the evils which, alas, existed in the late Mediæval Church. But in the meantime changes vast and various were passing over the Western World which opened men's eyes to see for themselves the corruptions which had gradually crept in and were disfiguring Christianity. The Reformation of the sixteenth century could no longer be delayed.

END OF PART II.

The Reformation

A FEW IMPORTANT DATES.

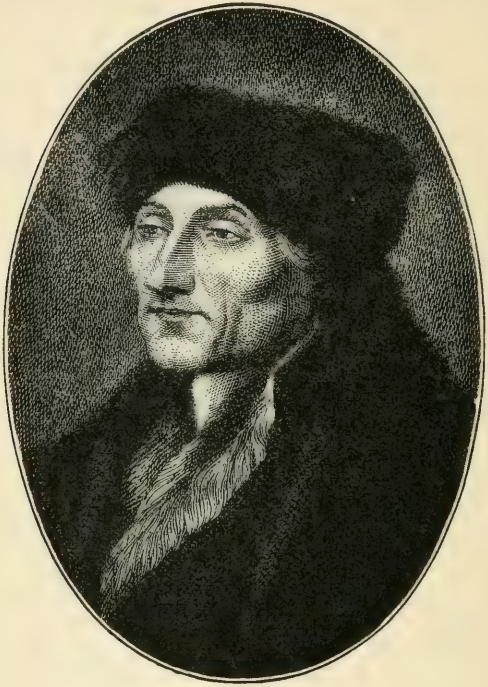
Sovereigns of England.		A.D.
Henry VIII.	Henry VIII.	1509
	Dean Colet's Sermon before Convocation on State of Clergy	1512
	Tyndale published New Testament	1526
	Wolsey falls	1529
	Reformation Parliament	1529
	Act making Papal annates illegal	1532
	Cranmer, Archbishop	1533
	Execution of More	1535
	Cromwell, Vicar-General	1535
	Smaller monasteries suppressed	1536
	The Ten Articles	1536
	The Six Articles	1539
Edward VI.	First Prayer Book of Edward VI.	1549
	Second „ „ „	1552
	The Forty-two Articles	1553
Mary	Pole absolves England	1554
	Ridley and Latimer burned	1555
	Cranmer burned	1556
Elizabeth	Act of Conformity	1559
	Parker, Archbishop	1559
	The Thirty-nine Articles	1563
	Grindal, Archbishop	1576
	Whitgift, Archbishop	1583
	Richard Hooker	1584
	Elizabeth dies	1603

The Pioneers.—A group of scholars arose at the close of the fifteenth and in the early years of the sixteenth century who may justly be styled the Pioneers of the Reformation. Among the most prominent of these were Erasmus—Colet and More in England, Luther and Melancthon in Germany and Central Europe.

Erasmus was not an Englishman, though much of his work was done in England, and it was here that he found his friends Colet and More, who so largely influenced his life's work; he was born in Rotterdam in A.D. 1467. His was a desolate, unloved youth, with the old story of careless guardians. Still quite young, he took the vows in a House of Augustinian Canons. He found too late he had no vocation for the cloister. Helped by the Bishop of Cambrai he studied at Paris, and was soon considered one of the rising scholars of the time. This period of his life, though, was disfigured with careless, irregular living. A severe illness fortunately arrested his downhill course. One of his Paris pupils, a son of Lord Mountjoy, brought him to England, where at Oxford he had the rare fortune of meeting with More and Colet. The friendship of the three endured through life. For some sixteen years, from A.D. 1498 to 1514, Erasmus lived mostly in Oxford, Cambridge and London, now as a teacher, now as an unwearied student. At Cambridge he was the recognised Professor of Greek. By this time his vast power and enormous erudition had become widely known. In 1516 he published, with the mighty aid of the comparatively-speaking new invention of the Printing Press, his edition of the Greek New Testament with his new Latin translation, for which he had been long preparing, with its powerful preface and scathing notes. The work literally took the western world by storm. His Greek Testament is with us still. The text of Erasmus' fifth edition, put out in 1535 (save in the Apocalypse), is virtually the text taken as the Standard or "received Text," which our English translators chose as their Greek text.

From the day of the publication of his great and enduring work, Erasmus became the most courted scholar in the western world. The great European sovereigns, including the English Henry VIII., sought his friendship and advice. No honour in the Church or State was deemed too great for him. But he refused everything—preferring his independence as a

renowned scholar. He wrote much besides the great work of his life of which we have spoken—but his undying fame will ever chiefly rest upon his editions of the Greek New Testament.



ERASMUS.
(From the portrait by Holbein.)

It is not too much to say, without the work of Erasmus and of Tyndale, the English translator, a few years later, the Reformation would never have been possible. A new light burst upon them, when they read for themselves the New

Testament. "Primitive Christianity," as Erasmus wrote to Colet, "was overgrown with thorns and briars." The Christian religion as taught and practised in the late mediæval period, largely consisted in the Mass and in confessions, in elaborate ceremonials, processions, pilgrimages, in prayers to the Virgin and saints, in an unhealthy reverence for shrines, relics, and images. Out of this death-like torpor into which it had sunk, it was awakened first by Erasmus, who put the New Testament once more into the hands of scholars; secondly by Luther and Tyndale, in Germany and England, who made it in their German and English translations accessible to all sorts and conditions of men.

Dean ***Colet*** was a year older than Erasmus (A.D. 1466). He too was a profound scholar. After years of patient study we find him as a much sought after lecturer at Oxford. Henry VII. made him Dean of St. Paul's, and he became the most famous preacher of his time, and lashed unsparingly the prevalent vices and errors of the Mediæval Church. His especial life-work was educational reform. The school of St. Paul's, of which he was the founder and maintainer, gave the impulse to the many noble grammar schools subsequently founded in different parts of England. Colet was the first of the new school of expositors of the New Testament. The school which began a new era in theology. He was followed by Erasmus, Luther, and a number of other less known scholars. During the first two decades of the sixteenth century he exercised vast influence in the Church of England, and held a high rank among those who prepared the way for the Reformation in England. Dean Colet died A.D. 1519.

More, the third of the little brilliant group, although a distinguished and eloquent lawyer, was also a great scholar and theological student, and was early known throughout Europe as one of the foremost figures in the new movement. He rose rapidly in the State, and became the intimate friend of King Henry VIII. all through Henry's earlier and nobler years. On the fall of Wolsey the King made him Chancellor. No statesman has ever left a whiter record than More,

and when the head of the great minister, reformer, and writer, the ornament of his country, fell on the block in A.D. 1535, a thrill of horror ran through Europe. More had been for years one of the most ardent as well as one of the most influential advocates of Church Reform; like Colet and Erasmus he, too, longed with a passionate earnestness to see the baseless superstitions, with which true religion was well-nigh hidden, swept away. But, like Erasmus, he was appalled at the violence of the storm he had helped to raise. More found the storm too violent for the course on which he hoped to pilot the ship of the State. He dreaded the drastic changes in doctrine and ritual which were imminent, and, resigning his high office, endeavoured to arrest the changes which he dreaded, and persisted in his high-minded but useless efforts.

Luther.—Only a few words will be necessary here on the great German teacher, who brought about so tremendous a change in the doctrinal systems and religious rites in Germany and on the Continent of Europe. Born in 1483, he became an Augustinian monk when quite young, and was soon distinguished by his love of study, and rapidly rose to eminence as a Professor. Shocked and dismayed first in the course of a visit to Rome with what he saw at the Court of Pope Julius II., and a little later in Germany at the shameless traffic of Rome in indulgences, he remonstrated warmly but in vain with the Church authorities, and then openly and publicly protested. Soon he became notorious for his vehement strictures on the whole question of the Papal supremacy and the crying abuses which disfigured the Church, and obtained widespread approval for his daring proposals for a thorough reform. In A.D. 1522 he published his German version of the New Testament, mainly from the Greek Testament recently put out by Erasmus. The result of his efforts was the complete separation of a large part of Germany from communion with Rome. Roughly, this separation may be dated from the year 1529-30.

The spirit in which Luther worked was very different from that which moved men of the type of Erasmus and More. These two dreaded the violence and impetuosity of Luther,

whose honesty Erasmus especially admired, but at the same time gently condemned his passion for destruction of much that was venerable and true. "There is much," wrote Erasmus in the year 1524 to the wise and saintly Melancthon, "in Luther's teaching that I dislike; he runs everything which he touches into extravagance. . . . Would that Luther had tried as hard to improve Popes . . . as to expose their faults." . . . In another letter Erasmus writes—"In some German states the Pope is antichrist, the priests swine, the princes tyrants, the monasteries Satan's conventicles, and the power is in the hands of Gospel mobs who are readier to fight than to reason." Erasmus lived to see some of the wild excesses which these mobs perpetrated in the churches he loved, when, as he tells us, "Nothing was spared, however precious and beautiful."

Philip Melancthon, the last in order of the little group of eminent men we have referred to, was younger by some years than Luther, being born in A.D. 1497. At a very early age he attracted the notice of Erasmus. His brilliancy and purity of style, his vast memory and erudition, were universally acknowledged. The theological views he professed generally coincided with those of Luther. His gentleness and conciliatory disposition gave him enormous influence in countries like England, where some attempt at a compromise with the old theology as far as it was possible generally influenced the Reformers. The great work of Melancthon was a brief compact system of Theology, entitled "Loci communes theologici," sixty editions of this book being published during the author's life-time. The famous Protestant Confession of Augsburg, A.D. 1530, was mainly Melancthon's work. After Luther's death in A.D. 1546, this great scholar occupied the foremost place among the foreign Reforming theologians. His great learning and power, coupled with conspicuous moderation, was of immense service to Luther, as his voice was often listened to when Luther's more passionate utterances were resented. Melancthon's views and writings possessed the greatest weight with the English Re-

formers of the school of Cranmer and Ridley, and have largely influenced the formularies of the Church of England.

William Tyndale, to whom reference has been made when alluding to Erasmus' great work in connection with the Greek New Testament, may be termed a contemporary in point of age with the members of the group lightly sketched in above, the date of his birth being given as A.D. 1477 (or 1484). He took his degree at Cambridge, and at an early age became a friar; his sympathies, however, were attracted by the teachings of Luther. Very soon he devoted himself to those Biblical studies for which his name will be for ever illustrious among all English-speaking peoples. Tyndale was poor, and in his earlier days never possessed any really influential friends; but he worked on unweariedly, and in 1525-6 he completed and published his famous English translation of the New Testament from the Greek. Erasmus' Greek Testament had been published some nine years previously, and was in the hands of every Biblical scholar in Europe. In spite of bitter opposition, Foxe tells us that copies of his English New Testament came "thick and threefold into England." A fifth edition of his New Testament was printed in 1529, and he commenced to print his English Version of the Old Testament Bible. Through treachery he was betrayed into the hands of his bitter foes on the Continent, and, after a long imprisonment, he was tried and condemned. He suffered a martyr's cruel death by burning at Vilvorde, near Brussels. This was in A.D. 1536. The foundation of our present Authorised Version of the New Testament was laid by Tyndale. "The English versions that followed were either substantially reproductions of Tyndale's translation in its first shape, or revisions of versions that had been themselves almost entirely based on it."[1]

The Letters of Erasmus, after he had risen to great eminence, in which the great scholar poured out his whole heart to correspondents of all ranks and nationalities, to bishops,

[1] See Preface to Revised Version of the New Testament put forth by the "Revisers" in 1881.

cardinals, royal personages, even to the Pope himself, give us a fair and reliable picture of the Church of the West (including England) at the close of the Middle Ages in the earlier years of the sixteenth century, as the Church appeared to Erasmus. These Letters, penned in the autumn of his stirring life, are rarely bitter, but very sorrowful. They contain the deliberate judgment of the most accomplished scholar of the age—of one singularly well fitted for such a task. No one was better acquainted with the faults and grievous shortcomings of the later mediæval Church than Erasmus. He longed with a passionate longing for a thorough Reformation, but at the same time he had little sympathy with Luther and the sweeping German reforms, viewing the acts of the more advanced Protestants with dislike and even dread. Erasmus accurately voiced the views of his dear friends Colet and More in England.

This was how he wrote. In a letter to Louis Marlianus, a Gallican bishop, we come upon such expressions as these: —"Christ I know, Luther I know not. The Roman Church I know, and death will not part me from it, till the Church departs from Christ. I approve those who stand by the Pope, but I could wish them wiser than they are. . . . Every wise man knows that doctrines and usages have been introduced into the Church which have no real sanction, partly by custom, partly through obsequious Canonists, partly by scholastic definition. . . . Such excrescences must be removed, though the medicine must be administered cautiously, lest it make the disorder worse and the patient die." Writing to Duke George of Saxony, he says:—"Christendom is being asphixiated with formulas and human inventions. Nothing is heard of but dispensations, indulgences, and the powers of the Pope." In another letter to this same Duke George:—"The world was besotted with ritual, scandalous monks were ensnaring and strangling consciences, theology had become sophistry, dogmatism had grown to madness." But still he deprecated violence. "If you put out the fire by force, it will burst up again." He was dismayed, like More, at the

ruthless destruction and wholesale condemnation by Luther and his school of so much that was venerable and beautiful.

Against this longing of Erasmus and More and men of their school to reform rather than to destroy, Luther was very bitter. "Erasmus," said the fervid German Reformer, "should leave theology alone. . . . Theology demands sincerity of heart and love for God's word." This reproof was positively addressed to the great restorer of the New Testament to the people!

To Herman, Archbishop of Cologne, Erasmus wrote in A.D. 1528:—"The Mass has been made a trade for illiterate and sordid priests . . . so the cry is raised, 'Abolish the Mass. Make an end of it!' Is there no middle course? Cannot the Mass be purified? Saint worship has been carried so far that Christ has been forgotten. Therefore respect for the saints is idolatry, and Orders founded in their name must be dissolved. Why so violent a remedy? Too much has been made of rituals and vestments but we might save, if we would, the useful part of such things. Confession has been abused, but it could be regulated more strictly. . . . If the Bishops will only be moderate, things might end well after all; but we must not hurt the corn in clearing out the tares." To the Bishop of Augsburg in A.D. 1528 he writes:—"The state of the Church distracts me."

Luther's dearest friend, the gentle reformer Melancthon, though, loved Erasmus and wrote to him thus:—"I hope your words will weigh with the Emperor Charles V. Continue your good works and deserve the thanks of posterity. . . . We have given in our views without condemning others. . . . Great changes are imminent. . . . God grant that the Church is not wrecked in the process."

In another letter of Erasmus we come upon the following passage. "We were drunk or asleep, and God has sent us these stern schoolmasters" (alluding to the German Reformers), "to wake us up. The rope has been overstrained: it might have stood if they had slackened it a little, but they would rather have it break than save it by concession." In

this letter he alluded with sad insistence to the crying errors of the later Mediæval Church, the Church he knew so well, and with all its faults loved so deeply; he dwelt upon the authority of the Pope, stretched too far; spoke of the terrible abuses connected with pardons and indulgences publicly handed about in the name of the Pope, upon the invocation of saints, upon images and pictures in the churches, the reverence for which ran to idolatry, upon the mischief wrought by confession; upon the extravagant importance attached to fasting; upon the too numerous holy days. He alludes also to the urgent necessity for reform of the religious communities, especially among the Mendicants.

But it was Reform, not sweeping and too often hasty changes that men like Erasmus and More so passionately longed for. He loved Luther for his honest outspoken words, for his fearless acts, but he dreaded their effect—and not without reason—foreseeing too truly that not a few Catholic traditions which were traced up to apostolic and sub-apostolic times would be ruthlessly set aside. Erasmus wrote to Melancthon as early as A.D. 1524 in grave words—"It is true Christendom is corrupt and needs the rod. . . . Luther sees certain things to be wrong, and in flying blindly at them, causes more harm than he cures."

Many earnest men longed for a General Council of the Church, and dreamed that what was so awry in the churches of the West might be set right by such a universal Catholic assembly. Such thoughts were well expressed in the letter of Wicelius to Luther, written in A.D. 1533. "I can think of nothing but the Council" (the Council which was to take in hand the burning questions which were then agitating men). "Christianity itself is in peril. O ears of Rome! O heart of Rome, deaf and dead to the one thing needful, and buried in the pleasures of the world! Have not Catholics waited long enough? Will you do nothing for the poor flock of Christ? Will not our cries move you at last? . . . But Erasmus, of all men, must be there."[1]

[1] Alas, when the fatal Council of Trent at last met—which stereo-

The Secular Popes.—It was a strange sad coincidence that all through the period of the great awakening, when men's eyes were opening to the awful errors and desolating evils which were imperilling the very existence of the Church, the popes, who filled the principal and most influential position in the religious life of the West, were, with few exceptions, worldly princes, rather than spiritual guides —some of them were even evil, bad men.

As early as A.D. 1471 Sixtus IV. began what may be termed the secularisation of the Papacy. He and his successor, Innocent VIII., were engaged in consolidating their dominions into an important state rather than in watching the grave spiritual condition of the Church in which they claimed to be the chief pastors. The third of these secular bishops of Rome, Alexander VI. (Borgia), pope from A.D. 1492 to A.D. 1503, pursued with success the same ambitious policy. He was a man who in private life was notoriously immoral, and he made no attempt to conceal his evil life. Julius II. (Cardinal Rovere) A.D. 1503 to A.D. 1513 for ten years was a prominent figure in European history. This Julius II. was a man of conspicuous ability, but did nothing to restore a spiritual life into the Roman Court. Cardinal Medici, who, under the name of Leo X., occupied the chair of St Peter, until A.D. 1521, maintained at Rome a magnificent and extravagant court. As the kindly and liberal patron of art and literature, he made Rome a famous centre for architecture, painting and sculpture, doing nothing, however, for the Church, then in such sore peril. To supply means for his vast and lavish expenditure, such devices as the public sale of indulgences, which stirred the heart of Luther, were adopted. The story of the manner of life, and the greed and lawlessness of these pontiffs, is one of the saddest chapters in a generally sad history.

The terrible example set by these popes reacted with dis-

typed instead of removing the errors which disfigured the Church—the great Master was dead. Erasmus died in A.D. 1536, and the first session of the Council of Trent was held in A.D. 1545.

astrous effect on England as on the Continent of Europe. An attempt at reform in Rome was made by Leo X.'s successor, Adrian VI. of Utrecht, the tutor of the Emperor Charles V., but he was an old and worn-out man when elected, and dying after a reign of two short years was followed by another secular pontiff, Clement VII., in A.D. 1523. He is famous in English history as the pope from whom Henry VIII. separated himself and the Church of England. During his occupancy of the Roman See his faithless policy created the rift between England and the Papacy, the rift which save during the few disastrous years of Mary's reign, has never been since bridged over, though more than three centuries and a half separate us from the days when the sad tragedy of Henry VIII.'s divorce was being played in Rome and London. Clement VII. passed away in 1534, and Cardinal Farnese Paul III. succeeded him, another of that melancholy line of Roman Pontiffs whose acts at this juncture when the very existence of the Western Church was in the balance continually shocked and dismayed all earnest men. It was in Paul III.'s pontificate that the Council of Trent was formally opened. This was in A.D. 1545. But it was too late. The Reformation was an accomplished fact, and the great religious schism between the Teutonic and Latin peoples has never been healed. It was not, however, the conservative Reformation longed for by men like Erasmus and Sir Thomas More. The change was something more sweeping, more destructive far, and in all changes much was lost which can never be recovered or replaced. The bitterest enemies to a conservative Reformation like that longed for by Erasmus and More were without a doubt those worldly-minded and ambitious, and in some cases evil, men who occupied the mighty see of Rome between the years 1471 and 1550.

Errors in the Mediæval Church.—Looking back upon what we have termed the period of the great awakening, we dimly catch sight of much that led to the great religious changes which belong to the first half of the sixteenth century. The errors in doctrine and practice of the later Mediæval Church had become accentuated—had reached

a point never reached before. The cult of the Virgin—the idolatrous reverence paid to saints—the foolish superstition attached to images and shrines—the unreasoning claims of the sacerdotal order, among other strange developments—far more than at any other period of mediæval history, were, as the fifteenth century was closing, obscuring all spiritual religion—were positively thrusting out of sight the great primitive Christian doctrines. And at the very time when grievous errors in doctrine and practice were most exaggerated, men's eyes were being opened to see how vast was the gulf which separated the Christianity of their age from the Christianity of earlier and purer ages: at this very moment the marvellous invention of the printing press threw a glow of unexpected light upon the Church and her teaching—for wellnigh the first great use made of the new discovery was to scatter broadcast through the countries of Western and Central Europe in Greek and Latin for scholars, in English and German for the unlearned masses of those countries, the New Testament, whose inspired books were but very imperfectly known to the rank and file of western nations. The newly acquired possession of the New Testament enabled countless thousands to compare the teaching of the Church they knew, with the very words of the teaching of the Master and his Disciples. The result was, what we have termed the great awakening. Other potent causes too were at work which helped to bring about the longing for a great change. The Monastic orders, which for many hundred years had been the great centres of teaching and ecclesiastical influence, had sadly fallen away in popular estimation; especially had the character of the numerous Mendicant orders, that latest development of Monasticism, enormously deteriorated. This was universally acknowledged, and bitterly deplored by serious advocates of a gradual conservative Reformation like Erasmus. In her hour of peril too, when a new departure was imperatively needed for the Church, thus weakened and wounded, as we have seen, a succession of evil and worldly-minded popes for some seventy years filled the tremendous position of irresponsible power claimed by and largely allowed

to the mediæval bishops of Rome. This line of secular popes, as they are termed, instead of taking the initiative in the sorely needed work of reform, persistently set before the Hierarchy of Europe examples of lavish extravagance, of selfish greed and of worldly ambition, and, alas, in several too conspicuous instances, of even darker sins.

Effects of the Printing Press.—As the sixteenth century advanced, the storm gradually acquired greater and greater force. The printing press was used for many purposes besides the learned biblical works of such scholars as Erasmus, Luther, Tyndale, Melancthon, and Reuchlin. Many of the notes of Luther and even of Erasmus in their editions of the Holy Scripture were passionate in their tone, at times fiercely polemical and singularly unfit in their spirit to accompany the blessed words of Jesus and His disciples. But more dangerous than even these comments was the flood of pamphlets, as we shall term them, bearing on the Church and the burning theological questions of the day; these were issued broadcast, and were read eagerly by all sorts and conditions of men. Many of these were pungent and bitter satires on the monks and ecclesiastics of that period; an element of truth was of course present in the more violent of them, but shameful exaggerations too often disfigured their pages. But they served to excite and disturb, they stirred up violent passions and irreconcilable hatreds, and rendered more and more hopeless any efforts in the direction of conservative reforms. In Germany, before A.D. 1530, wellnigh two-thirds of that great Teutonic nation had accepted the scheme of Reformation too hastily sketched out by Luther and his disciples. In that scheme, among much that was good, not a few Catholic traditions which can be traced up to the first age of Christianity were torn up as suggesting occasions of superstition. Germany has ever since rued the day which witnessed the destruction of much that was not only venerable but true. The Church of England was spared in the Providence of God not a little of this passionate and ill-considered Reform-work. The Greek New Testament and the Latin version

put out by Erasmus—a work published on the Continent but really carried out by him in England—was in the hands of every scholar. The English translation of the Book of Life by Tyndale became the precious possession of the people. The teachings of Colet and More, and of other devout men whose names are less known, sank deep into the hearts of the English nation, and prepared the way for the reformation of the Church soon to take place. But the conservative bias of the minds of such leaders as Archbishop Warham, Cardinal Wolsey and Sir Thomas More, under the strong rule of King Henry VIII., kept at a distance for the first thirty years of the century anything like drastic changes in the government and teaching of the Church. The work of Luther and the German reformers was ever viewed with dislike and even with abhorrence by King Henry VIII. and his advisers.

Reformation of the Church somewhat later in England.—The delay in the reformation of the Church of England was largely owing to the high character and statesmanlike abilities of the three ecclesiastics who, during the long period of some forty-three years, filled the office of chief Ministers of the English Crown—viz., from A.D. 1486 to A.D. 1529.

John Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury and Chancellor of Henry VII., A.D. 1486 to 1500, was a prelate of stainless reputation and a wise statesman. He had seen the necessity even at that comparatively early period of a reform of the Church; but he was a statesman rather than a churchman, and though he watched with anxiety and care over the Church, his efforts at positive reform were but feeble.

William Warham who became, in 1503, after the short uneventful primacy of Henry Dean, Archbishop of Canterbury, and who for fifteen years filled also the high office of Chancellor and chief Minister of the Crown, was confessedly a great ecclesiastic; his character, too, was pure and noble. He saw clearly with most serious men of his time the urgent need of amendment and change, but, like Morton, was ever rather a statesman than a Church reformer, and though he

laboured to amend the more crying abuses, nothing really was effected in his time.

Cardinal Wolsey, who superseded Warham as Chancellor, again ranks as a great and wise statesman, but although he must be looked upon as a neglectful ecclesiastic, setting in his own person, in the matter of pluralities, an evil example, still Wolsey was evidently bent on carrying out some most necessary changes, especially (*a*) in the matter of applying some of the Church's wealth for educational purposes, and (*b*) in the matter of the much-needed reformation of the ecclesiastical courts. He fell, however, from power before his plans were fully matured. Henry VIII., who had been on the throne since the early years of the century (the sixteenth), was evidently, during the first twenty-one or twenty-two years of his reign, averse to any pronounced changes either in doctrine or practice. The king himself was no mean theologian, and had even written strongly against Luther's doctrines: for his treatise the Pope bestowed upon him the title of "Defender of the Faith." On the whole we may conclude that up to A.D. 1529 the Crown and its chief ministers had in England thrown over the Church and its grievous shortcomings the shield of protection and countenance.

But the attitude of the English Government was changed by an event to which reference will be immediately made. The Royal protection above alluded to was withdrawn, and the flood of Reformation, the waters of which in England had been long and silently gathering, flowed on unchecked, with the results we have now to trace.

Henry VIII., A.D. ***1509-1547—The question of the Divorce.***—Long years before, when his father Henry VII. was king, Henry VIII., then Prince of Wales, fell in love with his sister-in-law Katherine, daughter of Ferdinand, King of Aragon. Katharine was the widow of his elder brother Arthur, who had only survived his marriage with the Spanish princess five months. Pope Julius II. reluctantly granting a dispensation, for such a marriage was within the forbidden degrees, Henry and Katherine were married. From this

union only one child survived—Mary, afterwards Queen. It was undoubtedly a national misfortune that the heiress to the crown was of doubtful legitimacy, that the original marriage was unlawful. And on this plea Henry VIII., as early as A.D. 1527, first agitated the question of a divorce, and application was made to the reigning Pope, Clement VII., to revoke the bull of Julius II. and to declare the marriage void. Long negotiations followed, the Pope temporising; for while desirous of pleasing the powerful English king, he dreaded yet more offending the Emperor Charles V., the dominant power in Italy, by pronouncing void the marriage of Katharine of Aragon, who was aunt to the Emperor. The negotiations were conducted for Henry VIII. by his Minister and Chancellor, Cardinal Wolsey. In 1529, some two years after the proceedings commenced, Cardinal Campeggio, the Papal Legate commissioned by Rome to try the important cause in England with Wolsey, after lengthened proceedings, instead of pronouncing judgment, acting upon orders from the Pope, directed the case to be tried afresh in Rome.

Henry VIII. was incensed at this delay, recognising too clearly that the Pope was afraid of a power greater than his own, foresaw that probably the divorce, owing to the strong pressure exercised by Charles V., would never be sanctioned. Here enters the saddest element into the vexed question. Other motives besides pure patriotism were influencing Henry. He loved another woman with a strange unreasoning passion —Anne Boleyn, the beautiful maid of honour of Katherine —and he determined to make Anne Boleyn his Queen. Incensed with Wolsey for what he deemed his mismanagement of the affair, he dismissed him from his great office. Wolsey only survived his disgrace a year, dying in 1530.

Cranmer.—A new figure now appears on the scene. A year before the cause was cited to Rome, a Cambridge scholar, Cranmer, who had given much attention to the cause, had told certain friends of King Henry that in his opinion the divorce question should be tried by the "Word of God" without any reference at all to the Pope. His opinion was communicated

to the King, who put the matter into the hands of this unknown bold adviser. Cranmer, acting under Henry's commands, placed the question before the great Universities of England, France, Italy and Germany. The Universities of Italy and Germany decided against the legality of the divorce, the Universities of England (Oxford and Cambridge) and France, on the other hand, pronouncing in its favour. In their opinion the marriage had never been lawful.[1]

The Divorce.—In A.D. 1533 Warham having passed away, Henry VIII., to the general surprise, pressed the primacy upon Cranmer, who, it is clear, having just married the daughter of the scholar Osiander, never dreamed of being nominated to the high office. The Pope, desirous to please Henry VIII. when he could do so without directly offending the Emperor Charles V., at once issued the customary Bill confirming the appointment. In the same year a Court was held at Dunstable under the presidency of the new Archbishop Cranmer to decide finally the question of the divorce. The Court pronounced the marriage of the King and Katherine to have been from the beginning null and void, the decision mainly resting on the opinion of the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and Paris.[2]

Prior to the decision of the Court, in the February of the same year, 1533, the famous Act was passed by the English Legislature for "the restraint of appeals to Rome." The Act was of course primarily intended to prevent any appeal on the part of Katherine. But its effect was tremendous and far-reaching, for it subjected any person hereafter appealing in any form to the Pope, to the terrible penalty of præmunire.

[1] There is little doubt but that in these judgments influences were brought to bear, which powerfully modified the opinion of the experts. Spanish influence being dominant in Italy, Luther, who was hostile to Henry VIII., being powerful in Germany, France, on the other hand, was bitterly jealous of Spain and the Emperor, Oxford and Cambridge naturally were largely influenced by Cranmer and the royal wishes.

[2] It should be added that *before* the Dunstable Court's formal pronouncement "Convocation" had decided against the legality of the marriage of Henry and Katherine

Thus out of a cruel wrong, for thus must the divorce of Henry VIII. be considered, grew a mighty good for the English people. The first great step had been taken towards the enfranchisement of the Church of England from the bondage of Rome which had lasted for centuries—more or less since the day when Norman William won the fight at Hastings in A.D. 1066.

But this must not blind us to the iniquity of the divorce, it admits of no excuse. Although, in the providence of God, it resulted in a nobler, truer life for the Church, and through the Church for the people, in the case of the king himself it was unblessed; it brought him neither peace nor happiness. The remainder of that great reign, with its restless work—often true work and real striving after the higher good and righteousness—as far as the great English king was concerned, was a period of trouble, care, and disappointment. While, as for his adviser, Cranmer, to whose great abilities and patient industry, and patriotic life of brave and ceaseless endeavour, England and her Church owe so deep a debt of gratitude, as *his* earthly guerdon for his share in the unrighteous work, he received the awful heritage of a life of never-ending toil, the fruits of which he was never to see, of a life which closed, after years of labour and noble striving, in the shame and agony of the sad Oxford tragedy of 1556. In sketching this important question of the divorce, we have advanced as far as the beginning of the summer of 1533, when the drama was finally closed. We must retrace our steps a little.

More Chancellor.—Wolsey was dismissed from office, under the circumstances connected with the divorce above alluded to, and More was induced by King Henry VIII. to take the Chancellorship. This was in the autumn of 1529. A parliament, sometimes termed the "Reformation Parliament," was called together. For fourteen years, save for one session, the Legislature had not met, Wolsey being opposed to parliamentary government. Henry's attitude to the Church, owing to the influence which the divorce question exercised upon him, was much changed. He was

deeply offended with the clergy who, as a body, to their great honour, gravely disapproved of any concession being made in the matter of declaring void the marriage solemnly legalised years before. The temper of the Commons was strongly in favour of drastic reform being made at once in Church matters. More undertook the high office of chancellor and minister, hoping to guide and direct the progress of Church reform measures, recognising to the full their urgent necessity, but at the same time earnestly desirous of warding off those drastic measures of destruction which he saw were contemplated. He found, however, the tide of popular opinion too strong, and being unable to restrain or even to guide the proposed legislation, of which he intensely disapproved, resigned, after holding the seals of office for about two and a half years. The king too, probably, at first had little idea to what lengths the Reformation would go. It is doubtful even if he contemplated breaking entirely with the Papal power. But the tide was too strong to be stemmed even by such a powerful and imperious monarch, and as time went on the king was well content to float along with it. Certain important acts were carried in the session of 1529, which were afterwards amplified in later sessions, notably one on the subject of the limitation of the powers of ecclesiastical courts. Pluralities were also dealt with, and Rome was sharply attacked in one of the acts, which, under a heavy penalty, forbade clerics to hold more benefices than the special statute specified. One very noble purpose of Henry's appeared in these first days of attempted Reformation—his intention to provide a translation of the Holy Scriptures.

Anti-Papal Legislation.—The years 1530-1 were marked by a most tyrannical procedure on the part of the king. Apparently in revenge for the steady and continued opposition on the part of the clergy to the divorce, Henry asserted that the whole body of ecclesiastics had come under the statute of præmunire by their acknowledging the legatine authority of the late chancellor, Cardinal Wolsey, although Wolsey had obtained a license from the

crown to exercise these legatine powers. An enormous fine was exacted, and the king insisted upon being styled by the clergy "The supreme head of the Church and Clergy of England." This claim, with certain reservations, in the end was conceded, though reluctantly, by Convocation. Other and important anti-clerical legislation was the subject of important debates in Parliament during A.D. 1532. The year of the divorce, A.D. 1533, and its work we have already noticed.

The Act of Succession and other Legislation (Anti-Papal).—The year 1534 saw the sequel to the earliest anti-papal legislation of the years 1532-3. This year was memorable for the great Acts which decided the position of the Church of England as a church completely independent of Rome. Of these Acts, the more notable were: the Act "for the restraint of Annates." This piece of legislation extinguished *all* payments to the Pope in the way of fees, &c., without reserve. The very titles of respect by which the Pope was called were largely modified. The elections of bishops for the future were to be confined entirely within the kingdom: all papal interference here was forbidden. Another Act forbade the payment of Peter's pence, an offering or a tribute to Rome which existed in England from far distant Anglo-Saxon times. The same Act also contained directions for many sweeping changes, notably those which ordered that all licenses, dispensations, and other instruments formally issuing from Rome were to be granted henceforth by the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The "Act of Succession" closed the work of the ever-memorable session of the Parliament of A.D. 1534. It was passed to secure the succession to the Crown to the children of Anne Boleyn, and contained clauses which led, in the course of the following year, A.D. 1535, to the execution of Sir Thomas More, and of Fisher, Bishop of Rochester. More had some time previously resigned the Great Seal. Sir Thomas More was perhaps the most famous personage in Europe, distinguished alike for his eloquence and wisdom as well as for his profound learning. His character among men

was absolutely pure and stainless. He was, however, utterly opposed to the drastic Church legislation favoured by King Henry VIII., and was too great and eminent a person to be suffered to live in opposition. The oath of the succession, which involved, of course, an acknowledgment of the justice of the divorce, was tendered to the Monastic Orders, who were already viewed with disfavour by Henry. Generally the oath was taken by the religious of the various orders. The Friars Observant, an order of reformed Franciscans, a community held in high esteem, declined the oath, and were suppressed. This was the *first* suppression, and it preceded the confiscation of the lesser religious houses by nearly two years. These Friars Observant were treated with extreme rigour, besides enduring the confiscation of their houses and property. This same year 1535 was also marked by the persecution of the Carthusians, also on account of the matter of the oath.[1] A bloody vengeance was exacted from the Carthusians, whose terrible sufferings, nobly borne, sent a thrill of horror through Europe. These harsh measures, coupled with the erasure of the prayers in which the name of the Pope occurred, were avenged by Pope Paul III. in the promulgation of a Bill of interdict and anathema couched in language perhaps the most terrible which ever issued from the Roman Chancery. The King of England was pronounced accursed. All his subjects were absolved from their allegiance. The entire nation, under the dread penalty of excommunication, was commanded no longer to acknowledge Henry VIII. as their sovereign. Thus the bonds which had so long united England to Rome were rudely severed. The Reformation work in England, long delayed, had indeed begun in awful earnest.

Thomas Cromwell, Minister of Henry VIII.— The ministries of Morton, Warham, Wolsey and More,—

[1] The oath was tendered to the religious orders in an especially stringent form. Besides the justice and legality of the marriage with Anne Boleyn, the acknowledgment that the King was head of the Church of England, that the Bishop of Rome had usurped the name of Pope and had no authority or jurisdiction in England, were included in the oath to be taken in their case.

too gentle, too temporising, too unconscious of the great "awakening" which had fallen upon the Teutonic peoples of Europe, had given place to the ministry of a man of another and a different spirit. When More passed away, the King of England gave his confidence to one of a very different stamp.

Thomas Cromwell, originally a favourite official of Cardinal Wolsey, a man of rare power and ability, became the chief adviser and the minister of the King. Perhaps no great statesman has ever had the fortune of being so variously painted as Thomas Cromwell, afterwards Earl of Essex.[1] One serious historian describes him as one "without greatness of mind or soul"; another considers him as "the greatest and most famous of Henry's ministers," but alludes to his character as "being even more mysterious than his master's"; a third tells us that he was "the fierce executor of fiercer laws . . . but that his aim was noble, that the object he was pursuing was the freedom of England and the destruction of idolatry." After a few years of almost irresponsible power, he perished on the scaffold. It was the earthly guerdon of so many of the leaders of men in that strange age of reformation and change.

Suppression of the Monastic Orders.—The story of the Reformation in England during the next five or six years, roughly from A.D. 1536, 1540-1, is mainly concerned with the suppression of the monasteries. At the period of the Dissolution the number of monks and friars and nuns in England is computed roughly at 8000-9000. They were thus divided: 1800 were friars—mainly Franciscans and Dominicans; the Austin and Præmonstratensian canons numbered about 930, the Austins or Augustinians largely predominating. There were 1560 nuns, and some 3800 monks of the Benedictine Order, including its important offshoots—the Cluniacs and Cistercians, and some Carthusians, besides more than ten times these numbers who were their dependants, and who obtained subsistence in their service. The whole population of England at this period did not exceed altogether four millions. This great army of

[1] Canon Dixon, Bishop Stubbs, Mr Froude.

"religious," using the word broadly, possessed some 750 houses, but with the exception of 220 greater monasteries and convents, the communities as a rule were very small and very poorly endowed.

Monasticism under the Norman Kings.—Most of them were of Norman foundation. Few, if any, of the early Saxon world-famed monasteries survived the awful shock of the Danish invasions. The attempt to revive Monasticism by Churchmen in the days of the kings of the House of Alfred was only partially successful. Under the Norman kings, Monasticism in England received a sudden and vast impulse. A mighty wave of Church feeling, which we have already noticed, swept over Northern and Central Europe, including Italy, in the eleventh century, but it is no baseless theory which sees in England something more than the general impulse given to Monasticism. The many stately English religious buildings of the Normans in the days immediately succeeding the Conquest (churches, abbeys, and monasteries) were no doubt an expiation for the violent deeds done in the course of the Conquest of England.

The Mendicant Orders.—In the days of Henry III., early in the thirteenth century, the Mendicant orders came amongst us, and their earnest and devoted work among the very poor and sick revived for a time the somewhat waning influence of the monasteries. These mendicant friars are known as Franciscan and Dominican, and include a few belonging to less known orders. The terrible scourge of the black death which raged in England in the middle years of the fourteenth century dealt a severe blow to all the monasteries. Their life spent largely among the poor and sick exposed them specially to the ravages of the awful pestilence. More than half of the "religious" of England certainly fell victims to the fell disease. The monastic orders, it is believed, never recovered from the tremendous blow. The invention of printing and the sudden spread of what was termed the New Learning in the second half of the fifteenth century, suddenly took away from the Benedictines

and their offshoots, and even from many of the friars, their occupation as copyists of manuscripts, and conservators of the comparatively few rare books the world possessed. The monks no longer held the monopoly of knowledge, and many of their duties as the principal, we may say the only, teachers of the people devolved on others. The friars, too, had largely lost the early fervour of their ministrations, and had considerably deteriorated in their aims and purposes. All these things must, of course, be taken into account when the question of their general suppression is being considered.

Reasons for the Suppression.—Again, when the final and complete rupture with Rome was decided upon and carried out by Henry VIII., the presence of the "orders," independent of ordinary Church government, and recognising the Pope alone as their master and director, bound thus by many ties to Rome, would have been to England after the throwing off of the Roman supremacy, a grave danger which such a far-seeing statesman as Henry VIII. and his great minister, Cromwell, saw only too clearly, so their destruction was resolved upon directly the separation from communion with Rome had been carried out.

Still we must not exclude from this brief summary of the suppression one more consideration. The plunder to be derived from such a sweeping confiscation would necessarily be enormous. There is no doubt that cupidity and greed, though of course not acknowledged, largely weighed with the King and his advisers in the suppression question.

The "great wrong," for when all excuses and pretexts have been urged for its perpetration—the suppression *was* a great wrong—the authors of the suppression never taking into account the past immense services done to mankind generally by the monastics. The actors in the "wrong" made no effort to reform or to make useful in the changed circumstances of the sixteenth century the monasteries and their inhabitants. They utterly forgot what the monk had done in the past—forgot his vast services, not only to religion and to education, but well-nigh to everything that makes life beautiful and desirable;

studiedly ignored what, if wisely reformed, he might still accomplish in the future. They simply swept the monasteries, monks and friars all away; confiscating their possessions, destroying also, in too many conspicuous cases, all that they could not carry away or turn into gold.

Official Machinery used for the Suppression.—The suppression of the orders came to pass in this wise. The mighty confiscation all through was carried out under a thin veil of regular and constitutional means. In the first instance, Cromwell, under the new title of Vicar-General, in the last months of the year 1535, by means of commissioners chosen by himself, but appointed by the king, "visited" the doomed communities. The Commissioners were men unknown and obscure, simply creatures of Cromwell, persons with little scruple or sympathy, utterly wanting in any lofty aim or purpose, greedy and self-sufficient, and several of the more notorious, as was subsequently clear, base and vile. To the case against the monastics as presented by these officials, no serious person could attach any real weight.

The charges, however, upon which the first legislation, which legalised the confiscation of the smaller houses, was procured, have in past times been repeated by successive historians without sufficient examination, and the presumed iniquity of the dispossessed monks and nuns has been generally accepted as proven.

At last, however, thanks to the more scientific processes of later times, the spell has been broken, and it is now acknowledged by the majority of serious writers that the charges made by the officials of Cromwell against the orders were "grossly exaggerated,"[1] if not generally false.

Acting upon these "tainted" reports of Cromwell's Commissioners, but not without a heated discussion, the obsequious Parliament in 1536 passed the celebrated Act dissolving the smaller monasteries whose income did not exceed a certain

[1] So J. R. Green, "History of English People," chap. vi., section vi.: the Church historians Canon Dixon, the Anglican, and Dr Gasquet, the learned Romanist, both used stronger language.

sum. More than 370 communities were suppressed under this Act, and their property confiscated and given to the King. This tremendous and sweeping operation was, however, only the prelude to a very much larger confiscation of the same kind which followed immediately after, in the years 1538-39 and 1540. One of the most singular and remarkable proofs of the iniquity of most of these subsequent confiscation proceedings is derived from the words of the preamble to the famous Act suppressing the smaller houses, where we read the following words, alluding to the greater religious houses, some 220 in number, which were not included in the schedule of the smaller houses suppressed and confiscated by the Act of 1536. "The King's most royal Majesty . . having knowledge that the premises be true as well as by the accompts of the late visitation as by sundry credible information, *considering also that divers great and solemn monasteries of this realm wherein, thanks be to God, religion is right well kept and observed.*" The preamble goes on to say that these great and solemn monasteries, not possessing their full number of inmates, should receive certain of the dispossessed persons from the smaller houses. Within four years of the admission of the King, "*all the great and solemn monasteries, for which Parliament thanked God, without one exception, were also swept into the same net of confiscation with the little houses!*" None were spared; their churches and abbeys were taken, many of them ruthlessly destroyed, their possessions were claimed by the King, and the monks and nuns were all driven out!

Popular indignation at the high-handed proceedings of the King in the question of the divorce and in religious matters, especially in the affairs of the suppression of the smaller monasteries, was the moving cause of the formidable rising in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, known as "the Pilgrimage of Grace." At one time this popular outbreak threatened to overturn the Government, but the rising came to nothing, and sharp, stern punishment was the lot of the principals in the rising. The insurrection, however, afforded a fair pretext to enlarge the already broad limits of the great confiscation. Directly

after the rising the confiscation of the larger and more important communities began, under the plea that they had been mixed up in the "Pilgrimage of Grace" treason. Nothing, indeed, could have happened more opportunely for Henry's designs than this ill-advised attempt at insurrection. Roman intrigues undoubtedly had to do with this disastrous business, and the King was enabled to appeal to patriotic motives as a pretext for the terrible severities which marked the year 1537. Not a few of the larger communities were quickly suppressed because the abbots and priors of these houses had been openly concerned in, or were suspected of sympathy with, the rising. Some of these houses were at once confiscated and their inmates dispersed; some were forced by threat of a charge of treason to surrender their possessions to the King.

Suppression of the Friaries.—The "Friaries," the homes of the mendicant orders, had been left alone when the dissolution of the smaller and poorer houses was carried out. Their poverty had preserved them. But the northern insurrection and the undoubted interference of Rome in the rising, altered the royal policy, and A.D. 1538 witnessed the suppression of these numerous communities. About 1800 friars were ejected. Their work was spread all over England, and they possessed about 200 houses—many of them very small; and in the majority of cases their houses and their churches, with the exception of a few, were poor and insignificant. These may be divided roughly as follows: of the best known orders the Order of St Francis numbered some 60 communities, the Order of St Dominic 53, the Austin Friars had 42, and the Carmelites 36 houses.

The dispossessed friars were treated harshly and without consideration; only a very small sum was allotted to them on their being turned adrift in the world. In very rare instances the small pension which was usually given to the ejected monks was granted to the mendicants.

Suppression of the Nunneries.—Of the nunneries at the period of the suppression there were in England about 140 convents. Of these rather more than half belonged to

the Benedictine Order. They were scattered over all the counties. These convents contained some 1560 nuns, these numbers are of course exclusive of the numerous dependants, tenants and farm-servants, and others attached to these communities. As a rule, these English convents were mostly insignificant in numbers, and their property was but small. By far the greater number (all but eighteen) came under the schedule of small houses condemned by the Act of 1536. In the first months of the general suppression which followed the passing of the Act the King was not vigorous in insisting upon the surrender of these poor female communities. But the mercy thus shown only continued a very little while. The nunneries of England, large and small, were all ruined and confiscated before the years 1540-1 had run their course. As regards the fair fame of the hapless dwellers in their quiet homes, their general character suffers but little even in the reports of the Commissioners of Cromwell. There is no shadow of doubt but that the reckless charges of vice brought against the nunneries of England at the period of their suppression, so often repeated and too readily believed, were absolutely false.

Suppression of the Wealthy Monasteries.—The number of important and wealthy monasteries suppressed and confiscated by "attainder" in 1537, by "voluntary" surrender and under other and varied pretexts in 1538, had now become a portentous list. The rest too were marked for destruction. A fresh and amazing Act of Parliament was procured by the King, ever scrupulous in observing the forms of the law, sanctioning what had been done since 1536 outside the provisions of the Act authorising the suppression of the smaller communities, and positively legalising any future confiscations of monastic possessions he might decree.[1]

[1] The strange words of the Act of Parliament of 1539 deserve to be quoted. "Freely . . . have many abbeys . . . and other religious houses resigned themselves . . . and their properties . . . into the hands of the King since the twenty-seventh year of his reign: *Let the King and his heirs posses. these houses for ever.* Other religious houses may happen in the future to be suppressed . . . or otherwise to come into the King's hands. *Let him enjoy them.*"

The years 1539-40 saw the end of the matter. One mighty religious house after another fell in the sad years 1538, '39, '40. In the majority of the greater monasteries no attempt apparently was made to excuse the suppression and confiscation by charging the monk-dwellers with immorality or even with neglect. No shadow of accusation, to give instances, seems to have been alleged against the last tenants of such stately prayer-homes as Dunstable and Bury St Edmunds, as Evesham and Gloucester. They all had fallen alike a prey to the royal spoiler before the end of the year 1540.

The Spoils of the Monasteries.—And now to take stock of the gains and losses from this vast work of suppression and confiscation. *The Buildings.* The land was covered with countless ruins of abbeys, churches, cloisters, conventual buildings, some of surpassing stateliness, some of severe simplicity, a whole architecture representing the work of centuries was reduced to ruins. During much of the Middle Ages men built as they have never built since. The stately abbey, the monastic buildings had been *The Book of Stone*, out of which many generations had been taught. These for the greater part were destroyed for the sake of the lead which covered the roofs and the bells which hung in the towers. Some were unroofed and dismantled, and left to the wild fury of the winds and rains. The massive building often served as a stone quarry for years. A certain few, as for instance Durham and Peterborough, Gloucester and Worcester (the abbeys at least), of those once mighty houses, were preserved for a new use, and these glorious piles still, after three centuries and a half, standing in their matchless beauty tell us something of what England lost in the great suppression. *The Libraries*, the priceless records of a past, containing the illuminated treasures of the art-loving Middle Ages, the carefully written copies of unnumbered books, the glory of the monastic life, were heedlessly tossed away, scattered, destroyed. Comparatively few books of the splendid libraries of the studious Benedictine Orders have been preserved. The scholar and student of later

ages have mourned over a loss wellnigh as fatal and irreparable as was the destruction of the libraries of Alexandria or Constantinople, when those mighty capitals of the vanished empire fell before the destroying Mahommedan armies of Omar, and later of Mahommed II. In another department the wanton destruction of all kinds of *objects of art* was equally regrettable. Innumerable treasures of beautiful and curious works in gold and silver and less precious metals were destroyed, stolen, melted down, or lost. Priceless inimitable works of the highest mediæval art, sacred vessels, crucifixes, religious crosses, censers, silver dishes of every kind, mitres, rings, jewelled gloves, clasps studded with gems torn from illuminated missals disappeared. A few found their way into the royal treasury and were broken up, but more disappeared. The most gorgeous productions of *mediæval embroidery and needle-work* were also dispersed, a few remarkable examples being reserved for the King, but the rest were heedlessly scattered. We have only selected a few striking examples of the awful loss and ruin which followed the monastic suppression in England A.D. 1536 to 1540-1.

As regards the lands and movables coming into the possession of the Crown in the course of this suppression and consequent confiscation, a poor show of carefulness is noticeable. An office or department was created for the disposal of these goods, called "the Court of Augmentation," consisting of an elaborate and costly staff, under a chancellor and a treasurer richly salaried. An enormous property indeed went through the hands of these officials in the years 1536-41.

The monastic spoils passing into the royal treasury have been roughly computed as a capital sum amounting to about *fifty millions of our present money*. Of course this is exclusive of the enormous incalculable waste faintly indicated above. Of these great sums, it has been calculated that rather more than half went for national purposes, under the heads of "coast fortifications" and of "costly foreign wars." Large sums also for a time were paid away in small pensions to dispossessed monks and nuns, mainly, of course, to those con-

cerned in the later "voluntary" surrenders. Much of the spoil was carelessly given away to Henry's courtiers; only, comparatively speaking, a small portion found its way back to the Church, or was used for educational purposes. A considerable amount was spent on the royal palaces of Westminster, Hampton Court and St James's. But after all has been reckoned, immense sums and vast hoards of treasure are unaccounted for and seem to have vanished.

From first to last the suppression of the monasteries in its conception and in the disposition of its ill-gotten fruits is a melancholy story, and will ever remain a dark blot in the story of the English Reformation.

Results of the Suppression.—The poor of England were severe losers by the suppression of the monastic houses; poverty in many ways was generously relieved by the monks. The burden of sickness and distress of its kind was helped and made tolerable in innumerable cases by the care and devotion of the monastic and mendicant orders. There is no doubt but that for the *poor*, life was made harder by the dissolution of the monasteries. No adequate means have ever been devised to fill up the void which the dissolution occasioned in the question of help to the poor, the sick and the helpless of our population. Our system of poor-law relief as yet very meagrely and sparingly fills the place of the monasteries and friaries.

In *educational* matters the fall of the religious houses was a severe loss to the nation. The free monastic schools were a great boon to vast numbers among the people. It is true that after the "suppression" the universities were more and more resorted to by the richer classes. But the poor, after the ruin of the monasteries, had less chance of education than they had before the great confiscation.

On the other hand, two important results of the suppression of the monastic orders must fairly be chronicled. "We have received," says a great scholar,[1] "good as well as evil through the means of the Majestic Lord (Henry VIII.) who

[1] Bishop Stubbs.

broke the bonds of Rome." Nothing save the suppression of this mighty net-work of fortresses, each garrisoned with its faithful papal force, could have effectually and permanently broken the chain of this iron bondage. Their traditions, their vast power, the principles which guided their life and work, were all too closely bound up with Rome and the papal supremacy for them ever loyally to acquiesce in a separation from the Roman obedience.

One more benefit indirectly came to the Church of England through the ruin and fall of the monastic orders. It is indisputable that the religious Houses were the chief seat of many of the saddest mediæval superstitions. It was in their churches and abbeys that the majority of the so-called miraculous images and most cherished relics were preserved. It was the unhappy heritage of a comparatively ignorant and superstitious age, but it was a heritage which the "Orders" of the sixteenth century still guarded with a jealous care and surrounded with an extreme reverence—a care and reverence which showed no sign of that abatement or caution, which the strong light of the New Learning should at least have suggested.

Pilgrimages on a large and small scale, prayers addressed to honoured shrines, images and relics, occupied a foremost place among the soul-destroying errors swept away by the English Reformation; and it is indisputable that the dwellers in the monasteries to the last upheld this wrong and foolish cult. The fall of the "Orders" and the ruin of their churches and houses in every part of the land, dealt a death-blow to the worn-out mediæval superstitions. Never perhaps would it have been possible to wean the mass of the people from their unreasoning belief in and deep-rooted attachment to these popular objects of worship, had they not witnessed such scenes as the pillage and desecration of world-famous shrines—shrines such as those of St Cuthbert at Durham, St Edmund at St Edmundsbury, and St Thomas at Canterbury. The memory of these stern and repulsive acts sank deep into many thousand hearts, and rendered possible the subsequent work of the English Reformers. In England

the sainted and worshipped relic, the adored image, really vanished when the monastic orders disappeared.

A Conservative Reformation generally aimed at by Henry VIII.—To go back a little in our story—the evident intention of the king to destroy the monastic system, visible as early as A.D. 1535-6, alarmed the nation generally. It was necessary to reassure the country that the ancient Catholic traditions of the Church would remain untouched, although the "Roman obedience" was thrown aside and the monastic system was at first weakened, then done away with. (This last was finally carried out between 1536-40.) In A.D. 1536 the king and Cranmer carried through Convocation—the first great formulary or Confession of Faith of the reign, known as the Ten Articles. This Confession of Faith was on the whole *intensely conservative*. It showed, however, its Lutheran colour (1) by only dwelling on three Sacraments—Baptism, Penance, and the Sacrament of the Altar—and (2) by adding a "caveat" in the form of words warning the people not to trust too implicitly in the virtue of symbols and ceremonies, in images, and saints.

In A.D. 1537 a feverish desire to assert the changeless catholicity of England in spite of the tremendous change taking place in the matter of the "Suppression" induced the king and Cranmer to put out the Second English Confession under the title of "The Institution of a Christian Man," generally known as the Bishop's Book. It was *more conservative* even than the Ten Articles, for it notices in addition as Sacraments, the Four—"Confirmation," "Matrimony," "Orders," and "Extreme Unction"—unnoticed in the Ten Articles; thus restoring the mystic number of the seven Sacraments.

The English Bible.—The influence of the Reformation—of the New Learning—of Lutheranism was in another direction conspicuously shown in these years, A.D. 1536-1541, by the desire of the king and Cranmer to give the people an *English Bible*. William Tyndale, no doubt inspired by the great work of Erasmus (above dwelt upon), between 1525 and 1535 had published his inimitable English version,

and thousands of copies of his version of the New Testament were circulated in our Island in that period. They were, however, hostilely looked on by the hierarchy and the government. This hostility being largely owing to the preface and notes which accompanied Tyndale's work, these notes being coloured with bitter denunciation of the bishops and the clergy, the monks and the friars, and the mediæval ceremonies of the Church. Tyndale, we have seen, was burned as a heretic at Vilvorde, near Brussels, in 1536. But the following years witnessed successive editions of the English Bible published under the king's sanction. Myles Coverdale was the scholar employed in this great and beneficent work. The influence of Tyndale's translation was, however, very prominent in all these. In 1539, the Great English Bible of Cranmer made its appearance. Seven editions were published in the course of 1539-40-41. It was virtually a reproduction of the work of the martyr Tyndale—indeed his noble translation is the foundation of *all* the English versions which have since followed it, up to our own day and time. Thus the *Holy Scripture in English* struggled into universal use.

Religious Parties in England.—In the year 1538-39, when the suppression of the monastic orders was being rapidly carried out, the nation was divided in religious matters into several parties—we will briefly notice them. (1) There was the party which still held on to Rome, which abhorred the schism with the Papacy and looked with dismay and even horror at the suppression of the "Orders." (2) There was the "Anglican" party (to use a word which gradually came into use). The men who made up this party were content to separate from Rome and all that this great change involved, if only the old doctrinal teaching was rigidly maintained, and the ancient and cherished ceremonies preserved. They were rigidly conservative in everything save in the one particular of the Roman obedience. With these men the king strongly sympathised. (3) There was the party strongly coloured with Lutheranism. They were rigidly orthodox too in all essential points, but they were earnest Reformers in

their intense wish to sweep away mediæval errors, such as the Cult of Images, Pilgrimage to shrines, etc. They desired too to do away with the mediæval teaching in the matter of the celibacy of the clergy. In this party we find such men as Cranmer and Latimer, the latter of whom had become a great power as a preacher and teacher in the English Church. (4) Outside all these was a great mass, mostly belonging to the people, who were followers of the old Lollards, and the more advanced of the Continental teachers. These last were specially excited —possibly encouraged—by the scenes of confusion which attended much of the suppression of the monastic orders, and as a result scenes of disorder and even of sacrilege were not uncommonly witnessed in different parts of the kingdom. This spirit of confusion and anarchy, very visible in the Church of England, disturbed and alarmed King Henry VIII.

The king was determined to have nothing to do with Rome; he would have no monastic orders—no standing Roman army in England; but he was equally determined that his England should be Catholic in the mediæval sense of the word. The excesses of the extreme Reforming party he abhorred.

Reactionary Measures of Henry VIII. — To counteract this growing party of extremists, largely fostered, it must be confessed, by his own action in the drastic monastic suppression, he influenced Parliament to pass the terrible reactionary Act of the "Six Articles" in A.D. 1539. This Act was intensely conservative in its character. His chief adviser in this step seems to have been the subsequently famous Bishop Gardiner. The Six Articles affirmed the doctrine of Transubstantiation, pronounced that Communion in both kinds was not necessary; in other words, sanctioned the late mediæval practice which denied the Cup to the laity; directed that priests should not marry; approved private and solitary masses; and directed the continuance of auricular confession to a priest. These Articles, the Act declared, must be enforced by severe penalties. The denier of Transubstantiation was liable to the doom of burning. The penalties attached to non-compliance with the other points were rigorous in the

highest degree. Melancthon, expressing the sentiments of the more moderate Lutherans, passionately urged King Henry to change his purpose here. In England Bishops Latimer and Shaxton resigned their high offices. The "Six Articles" continued in force for some eight years, and several times were made the instrument of a temporary cruel persecution; but no doubt the grave disapprobation of men like Melancthon, and the gentle Lutheran influence of Cranmer, and of others who thought with him, had their weight with Henry, and generally its more stringent provisions do not seem to have been severely pressed.

In 1543 the Third English Confession of Faith was published with authority. The title was "The necessary doctrine and erudition of a Christian Man"; it is popularly known as "the King's Book." It was virtually a scholarly revision of "the Bishop's Book," above described; but, as might have been expected from the tone of the king's mind in the latter years of his reign, was markedly reactionary. Transubstantiation was approved; receiving in one kind, fasting, the celibacy of the clergy, were also insisted upon. The ecclesiastical measures of Parliament in 1543 manifested the same reactionary spirit. The popular excesses and sacrilegious outbreaks above referred to had no doubt created alarm—and certain restrictions on the free use of the English Bible were made. Tyndale's version with the notes, etc., was again prohibited. On the other hand, a formally authorised Book of private prayers and devotions in the vernacular, for the first time was put out; this was done in 1545, no doubt owing to the influence of Cranmer.

Summary of religious changes in reign of Henry VIII.—The sands of the hour-glass of that strange, stormy life of Henry VIII. were fast running out. He passed away in 1547. On the whole much towards a Reformation in the Church of England had been done during his reign. The dead hand of Rome, which had weighed so long upon the life of the church which it had helped to paralyse, had been removed. Many of the more glaring abuses and superstitions which had gradually

grown up in the course of the Middle Ages had been swept away. Indulgences and pardons belonged to the past; the idolatrous cult of images and relics was wellnigh done away with. The Bible in English was rapidly becoming the precious possession of all sorts and conditions of men. Considerable progress, too, had been made towards the general use of the English Liturgy. Books containing authorised translations of the various Church services were in the hands of the people, and some of the English prayers already were prayed in church. It was clear that the old familiar but still "unknown" Latin tongue would soon cease altogether to be heard in the churches of the land. But though English was being rapidly substituted for Latin, the *same prayers* which had been prayed in the Catholic Church from immemorial antiquity would still be used.

Cranmer and Ridley under Henry VIII.— Cranmer, the archbishop for wellnigh fourteen years, had been a considerable power in the state. Ever a friend and adviser of the king, his influence was constantly overpowered and neutralised, now by Cromwell all through the great suppression period, now by Gardiner, in the reactionary measures which followed the fall of Cromwell. But the king ever loved him, and listened to him, though he frequently disregarded his counsel. But it was after the death of Henry VIII. that Cranmer's real work commenced. After the passing of the statute of "the Six Articles," the archbishop retired a good deal from public life, preserving, however, the king's friendship to the last. It was during these seven or eight last years of Henry's reign that Cranmer especially devoted himself to those studies in theology which so largely coloured the work he presided over in the following reign. Latimer was much with him, but his chief friend and counsellor was his chaplain, the learned Cambridge scholar Ridley, afterwards Bishop of London, emphatically the ablest of the English reformers. Ridley's and Cranmer's conversion to the principal reform doctrines was very slow, and was the fruit of long and patient work. Cranmer and Ridley, in these

quiet years of study, became convinced of the truth of the Eucharistic doctrine, embodied subsequently in the formularies of the Church of England, which, in opposition to the mediæval teaching of Transubstantiation, taught the doctrine of the real spiritual presence to be communicated to the godly by grace. This was the teaching of Rabanus Maurus and the great theologians of the ninth century, when first the Eucharistic controversy disturbed men's minds; it was the teaching, too, of the Anglo-Saxon Church, as is shown in the authoritative Homilies of Elfric in the tenth century.

And it was largely because they held firmly to this truth that Cranmer and Ridley, and many other Reformation martyrs, died in the Roman reaction under Queen Mary. It should never be forgotten when in the following reign our reformers put out the formularies of the Anglican Faith, they invented nothing, suggested nothing novel. They simply and faithfully restored the ancient Eucharistic doctrine in the spirit, almost in the very words of the old Anglo-Saxon Church, sweeping away the additions and interpretations introduced by mediæval theologians. The continuity of the teaching of the Anglican Church here with the teaching of the Church of Dunstan and Elfric is unbroken.[1]

Edward VI. A.D. ***1547-1553.***—The reign of the boy-king (he was but ten years old when his father, Henry VIII. died) lasting six and a half years, was a sad time of confusion and misrule. A strange period of stress and storm indeed for the great Liturgical reform to be carried out. The work was done mainly by Cranmer, and yet, in spite of the dreary surroundings, his work has been enduring.—"While the Church of England remains, the image of Cranmer will be seen reflected on the calm surface of the Liturgy."[2]

The Dukes of Somerset and Northumberland.

[1] How glorious is the lineage of that Church and its doctrines, is shown in the larger history of the writer of this Manual above referred to.

[2] Froude.

—During these six or seven years, two men in succession stood prominent. The first of these was Edward VI.'s uncle, Lord Hertford the Protector, better known by his title of the Duke of Somerset, who has been well described as one "who attempted the work of a giant with the strength of a woman, as being at once passionate and unmanageable." He was generally a devoted friend of the Reformation, but his administration was on the whole disastrous. He died on the scaffold in A.D. 1552, and was followed in power by his rival, Dudley—Lord Lisle—known in history as Duke of Northumberland. His guerdon, too, was a bloody death by the executioner's axe, early in the reign of Mary.

Northumberland has left behind him a far darker and more guilty reputation than Somerset, who, though a worldly and ambitious statesman, was ever attached to what he believed were the principles of the Reformation. But Northumberland, on the other hand, had no real religious convictions. The sole object of his life was the aggrandisement of himself and his family. As for Edward VI., his biographers all dwell on his deep piety and his precocious quickness in learning. His sympathies were entirely with the Reformation. Edward's loveless, joyless existence, his ceaseless studies, the anxieties which gathered too quickly round him, enfeebled a naturally weak constitution, and an attack of small-pox, from which he only partially recovered, left behind the seeds of the fatal malady to which he succumbed in the year 1553.

Cranmer and his work.—The government of the Church, on Henry VIII.'s death, passed into the hands of Cranmer. His earliest work (1547) was the putting out of "The First Book of Homilies," which was ordered to be read in churches every Sunday. This book contained some admirable pieces of popular theology, but, strange to say, the mention of the Sacraments was only scanty and incidental. Next followed a general visitation of the kingdom under royal authority by thirty visitors composed partly of lay partly of clerical visitors. They carried with them the celebrated "Injunctions of Edward VI." Among

the most important directions in these "Injunctions" were, Order for the Lessons and Epistle and Gospel to be read in English, and also for an English Litany. In the following 48 year an order in Council directed that all images were to be removed from churches. The result of this sweeping and ill-considered "Injunction" was most disastrous. Incalculable mischief was wrought. Frescoes, statuary, beautiful jewelled glass was everywhere heedlessly destroyed, and much of the exquisite art work of centuries perished.

The first Prayer Book.—Very early in the reign the feeling in favour of a sharp advance in the Reformation was very pronounced. The "Six Articles" Act was repealed, and a mixed commission under the presidency of Cranmer sat at Windsor to prepare the first English order of Communion—which was ordered for general use in the Easter-tide of 1548. This was a careful liturgic reformation of the old Missal—the Sarum Use being principally used. Out of extreme reverence the actual oblation and consecration were still left in the mediæval Latin, other parts of the service, however, being in English. The important changes were:—Provision being made for administering the Sacrament *in both kinds*; a general confession in English was added, to be repeated by all the people. This introduction of a public confession was an open attack upon the old practice of secret auricular confession. The English part of the new order of Communion was mainly derived from a German model originally framed from ancient sources by Luther himself.

The reform of the Missal[1] was rapidly followed by the reform of the Breviary[2]—the work being done by the Commissioners under Cranmer at Windsor.

[1] The *Missal* or the Office Book of the "Use of Sarum" contained all that the priest required for the service of the Mass.

[2] The *Breviary* was made up of the services for the Canonical Hours—Matins, lauds, prime, tierce, sext, nones, vespers and compline. This comprehensive book began to be called the Breviary towards the end of the eleventh century.

Mainly out of these two—the principal service books of the mediæval Church—the first English prayer book was compiled. The great majority of the formularies were ably and happily translated from originals which had been in use in Christian churches of the highest antiquity. The more prominent of the superstitions which in mediæval times gradually had crept into the primitive liturgies were eliminated. The whole was presented for the first time in English. Those portions of the Communion Service which in the first instance had been left in Latin, were now translated into the tongue of the people. The spirit of the English Reformation of course breathed through the whole book, but it was a spirit which, while it avoided on the one hand exaggerated reform, on the other, was free from a timorous conservatism. The new Sacramentary notably carried the idea of the leading reformers that the Eucharistic service should be a *Communion*. The *Mass* had become almost exclusively a clerical function. In the January of 1549 it was established by the first "Act for the uniformity of religion."

The English Ordinal.—Very rapidly the work of Reformation went on in the short and troubled reign. A.D. 1550 saw the putting forth of the new English Ordinal, which replaced the old mediæval "Pontificale." Great changes were made. The subdeacons and the other four lower grades in the ministry disappeared. Deacons, priests and bishops were alone retained, and in the ordination of these, the ceremonies, formerly of a most elaborate character, were reduced to a primitive simplicity. But the inherent authority of the Episcopal office remained undiminished, since no orders were admitted save those conferred by a bishop.

The second Prayer Book and the Forty-two Articles.—Two most important formularies were published by authority during the two or three years which yet remained of the boy-king's reign—the second prayer book and the famous Forty-two Articles, both bearing the date of 1552. There is no doubt but that from the year 1550 onward, Cranmer, Ridley,

and their learned assessors were considerably influenced by the arguments and writings brought to bear upon them by foreign theologians of eminence belonging to the reforming party. Several very famous scholars at this time sought in England a safer home than their own agitated and disturbed country afforded them. Notably Martin Bucer, who became King's Professor of Divinity at Cambridge; Peter Martyr, who settled as a teacher in Oxford; Paul Fagius, who was appointed Hebrew Professor at Cambridge, and others less known. These had a great and not altogether a happy influence over our great Reformation teachers. The most extreme views of these foreign divines were adopted with great fervour by such men as Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester, John Knox, whose work lay chiefly in Scotland, and by Latimer, though in a less degree.

We have already noticed the dire destruction of much that was beautiful and venerable in the abbeys and churches in 1548, when the Order in Council directed the *removal of all images* from churches. The strong current of public opinion let loose by the wild words and exaggerated remonstrances of extremists among the home and foreign reformers induced the Council, then under the presidency of Northumberland, to direct a search through all the shires of England for "the remaining churches' goods." This official visitation went far to complete the searching done in 1548, and an incalculable mass of various precious sacred things were destroyed and swept away. Cranmer in this instance seems gravely to have disapproved of the proceedings, but his remonstrances were in vain. These spoliations and wanton destruction constitute a dark and disgraceful page of our Reformation story.

The second Prayer Book which was put out in 1552 was strongly coloured with this extreme reforming spirit. Bucer and Martyr, at Cambridge and Oxford, by request examined the first Prayer of 1549. Their labours were embodied in a treatise of twenty-eight chapters known as the "Censura" of Bucer—on the whole the great foreign scholar approved the Book. "I found nothing therein," he wrote, "that was con-

trary to the word of God," but he particularised divers points that he deemed liable to misconception—and not a few of his suggestions were embodied in the new popular formulary of 1552. The changes in this second Prayer Book of Edward VI. of 1552 were various and by no means, in all cases, for the better—some of them, however, were fortunately ruled out in the subsequent revision of the English Prayer Book. Notably in the Communion Service, which suffered from the unfortunate omission of the direction for the so-called Manuel Acts in consecration—and by the leaving out of all mention of receiving the body and blood of Christ in the solemn words spoken to the communicants. These unhappy deletions were however restored in the Elizabethan revision. A strong effort was made by the extreme reformers, among whom were Hooper and Knox, to omit the notice enjoining the communicants to kneel. Cranmer, however, positively refused to yield this point at the bidding of men whom he did not hesitate to term "glorious but unquiet spirits." The word "altar" was also significantly removed from this second Book of 1552.

Far less marked was the influence of the more extreme of the English Reformers and of the foreign scholars in England upon the Forty-two Articles of Religion published in that same year 1552. With certain alterations and modifications of no great moment, these are still the Articles of the Church of England. Here without doubt Cranmer and Ridley were the chief compilers, and under the title of the Thirty-nine Articles the work of these two eminent theologians remains to this day very much as they left it. The chief sources of the Forty-two Articles were the Lutheran Confessions of Faith, especially the Confession of Augsburg. Still on certain important points the Anglican Articles differ from the German "confessions." It has been well remarked, that considering the fierceness of the theological disputes of the time, and the pressure evidently exercised upon Cranmer and his colleagues, generally speaking the Forty-two Articles showed a surprisingly comprehensive and moderate spirit. That they have passed through so much subsequent criticism and examination, and

have endured with such few and unimportant changes to our own time, is a grand testimony to the wisdom, learning, and moderation of their chief author, Archbishop Cranmer.

As may be supposed not a few eminent men among the bishops of "the old learning," to use a well known appellation, with more or less vigour opposed the progress of the Reformation—such as Gardiner, Bonner, Tunstall, Heath, Day and Voysey, who were deprived of their bishoprics. These naturally occupied a distinguished position in the Roman reaction under Edward Sixth's sister Mary, the daughter of Henry VIII. and the divorced Katherine of Aragon, who, on Edward's death in 1553, after a vain attempt on the part of Northumberland to alter the succession, became Queen.

Queen Mary, A.D. ***1553-1558.***—The general welcome which the people of England gave to Mary on the death of Edward VI. was due largely to the following reasons:—

1. Perhaps the chiefest of these was the deep general dissatisfaction at the misrule and confusion of the Regency government during the boy king's minority. Then uneasiness existed at
2. the growing excesses of the extreme reformers; to these must
3. be added distrust of Northumberland, who plotted for the aggrandisement of his family in the person of the Lady Jane, kinswoman of Edward VI., who was married to his son, Lord Guilford Dudley. But the popularity and the goodwill of England possessed by Mary when she ascended the throne was quickly forfeited as we shall see by her policy.

Cranmer and Ridley, the real chiefs of the English Reformation, were deeply involved in the Dudley plot for the substitution of the Lady Jane for Mary. Cranmer's name stood at the head of the fatal document altering the succession. That he signed it most reluctantly, and only at the urgent request of the dying Edward VI., was no plea which could be urged when Mary became Queen. Ridley, too, had publicly in a sermon at Paul's Cross avowed himself an open foe to Mary's succession.

These great reformers disdained to fly the country. Cranmer, even in a manifesto, bravely and powerfully defended the

religious policy of the Reformation to which he had devoted himself, although well aware of what would be the consequences of his act. They followed immediately, and Cranmer, Ridley and the famous preacher Latimer, as a preliminary step to their condemnation, after a brief pause were imprisoned in the tower.

The Reformation work destroyed by Mary.— Mary, the Queen, a devoted Romanist and a bitter opponent of the Reformation, allowed no delay in carrying out her policy. The whole work carried out in the late reign by the reformers must be at once undone. The bishops Gardiner, Bonner, etc., who had been deprived under Edward VI. of their Sees, were directly reinstated. Gardiner became Chancellor and principal minister, and Simon Renard, the Spanish Ambassador, enjoyed the position of being the Queen's most trusted adviser. Events moved in the religious life of England with extraordinary rapidity. In the first month of the reign, the Latin Mass and service were publicly restored in very many of the principal churches of the Kingdom.

In her first Parliament an Act was passed repealing all the statutes of Edward VI., some nine in number, regarding religion, including the Act for the election of Bishops, the Act for receiving in both kinds, the Acts which abrogated the laws for the marriage of priests, the Acts for putting away the old service books and images, the two Acts of uniformity which established the first and second Prayer Books of Edward VI.

The Latin use, too, was restored. As yet silence was observed in the matter of the Roman Obedience. The result of a protracted debate in convocation was, that by a large majority *the Mass* was restored, and *celibacy* once more enjoined upon the English clergy. Articles were also passed in the Upper House affirming Transubstantiation, the adoration and reservation of the Eucharist, and communion in one kind only. This important convocation, as far as official Acts could do so, destroyed the Reformation. Before the

end of the first year of Mary's reign, the Latin Service was ordered to be universally used; married priests were no longer to officiate, and the ancient ceremonies of the Mediæval Church which had been abolished were restored. This tremendous change had passed over England in a little more than six months. All this was effected without any grave popular signs of discontent. As yet the Reformation interested, comparatively speaking, only a section of Englishmen. And even this section was split up into Moderate Reformers and Extremists. The key to the hearts of the people had not yet been really found. Not a few who longed for a Reformation on many points, and who had joyfully welcomed the English Bible and English services, were pained and saddened at the acts of desecration, at the doings of the Extreme Reformers. Nor had they forgotten the great monastic suppression and all that followed it. Strange to say, it was the subsequent work of Mary and her advisers which "popularised," so to speak, the Reformation among us.

Three pieces of Mary's unhappy policy changed the good-feeling with which she was regarded when she came to the throne into bitter, irreconcilable hatred. They were: (1) The Spanish marriage; (2) the reconciliation with Rome; (3) the bitter, cruel persecution of the Reformers which darkened her reign.

1. The Spanish Marriage (1559).—This was the Queen's selection of her kinsman, the heir to the enormous dominions of Charles V. Mary's husband was afterwards known as Philip II. of Spain, in whose reign the terrible and successful revolt of the Netherlands against his bigotry and cruelty stands out as perhaps the prominent feature of his life. It was Philip II. who afterwards fitted out the famous Armada in the days of Mary's glorious successor Elizabeth. The marriage from the first was intensely unpopular in England, and was opposed from the beginning by Bishop Gardiner, the Chancellor, who though a bigoted Romanist was a wise and patriotic statesman enough to dread the overwhelming influence of mighty Spain upon English politics; he, in common with

most Englishmen, foresaw the probability of England becoming a mere appendage of Spain. But the influence of Renard, the Spanish Ambassador, who was Mary's confidant, was greater than that of Gardiner the Chancellor, and the ill-omened union took place. Very soon after the marriage the love of England for Mary was exchanged for hatred.

There is no shadow of doubt but that the terrible persecutions which sullied this reign were not a little owing to the predominant Spanish influences. Though Philip soon tired of his bride and misliked England, during a large portion of Mary's reign she was surrounded by a crowd of Spanish nobles and ecclesiastics by whom her fatal policy of persecution was largely guided. It must ever be borne in mind that the Spaniards were irreconcilably hostile to the reformers.

Reconciliation with Rome.—The return of England to the Roman Obedience is the next great land mark in Mary's reign. The situation was a strange one in the curious revolution of the wheel of fortune. Henry VIII., who had broken with Rome, was dead. His son and heir, Edward VI., who in Reformation matters had gone to lengths undreamed of by his father, had also passed away; his sister Mary, trained from her earliest days to hate the reformers, was on the English throne. The people, contrary to the common expectation, from the various causes we have alluded to, had welcomed her advent with enthusiasm. The chiefs of the reformed party were in power or in exile. Well might Rome look to a formal reconciliation with the great rebel island which had witnessed so startling a change. The principal agent in the reconciliation which Mary desired passionately was a well-known English exile of high rank and stainless character. Reginald Pole, afterwards known as Cardinal Pole, a kinsman of Henry VIII. (he was the grandson of George, Duke of Clarence, brother of Edward IV., who was, according to tradition, drowned in the butt of Malmsey), when young was a favourite of the king, who designed him for high preferment in the Church. In the matter of the *divorce*, however, Pole

bitterly opposed the King, and threw in his lot with Rome. He became an exile and a wanderer and a centre of the plots hatched at Rome against Henry VIII. He was notably prominent in the intrigues connected with the "Pilgrimage of Grace" rising. Pope Paul III., in reward for his busy zeal, in 1536 made him a Cardinal. This restless, high-born ecclesiastic was a scholar of no mean pretensions; bore an unblemished character, was ambitious and chivalrous, but a bigot and a somewhat wild enthusiast. It was he whom the Pope sent as his Legate to Mary and her Spanish husband Philip to reconcile repentant England to Rome. One condition was, however, made: it being stipulated that the holders of the confiscated monastic lands should receive a dispensation to hold these still. The fear of an enforced restitution of these widely extended stolen possessions being regarded as a possible bar to a Roman reconciliation. In A.D. 1554, with a ceremony of extraordinary solemnity, in the presence of the Queen and King Philip and the Houses of Legislature, the Legate Cardinal Pole, in the name of Pope Julius III., absolved the kingdom from the guilt of heresy and schism, and removed the Interdict. Pole was received with the highest favour by Mary, and on Cranmer's death became Primate, and the confidential and all-powerful adviser of the Queen.

The unpopularity of the Reformation, an unpopularity, which, as we have seen, from various causes threatened to undo the true work of the devoted scholars of the New Learning among the people, was fast giving way to a bitter regret on the part of thousands of serious Englishmen, when, as they became anxious of the growing influence of Spain and the reactionaries, they saw the English Bible taken away, and the English Services proscribed, and ceremonies and rites they had come to recognise as superstitious, even as idolatrous, restored. And these feelings were enormously intensified when they found the yoke of Rome, so long and bitterly resented by the vast majority of Englishmen, once again riveted on the National Church.

There was another powerful impulse still to be given to the

apparently dying Reformation in England. This was the too-famous ***Marian persecution,*** which may be said to have begun in the year following the Roman reconciliation, A.D. 1555. In that year the statesmanlike Chancellor Gardiner died, and for the remainder of Mary's sad life Pole's solitary influence was supreme with the Queen. For about three years the dark shadow of the dread persecution lay upon England. It has been computed that 400 persons suffered death for their attachment to the principles of the Reformation, and of these some 300 perished by burning. These cruel scenes have made the three last years of Mary's life a byword in English history, and have associated the too well deserved epithet of bloody with her name. All this was done by the orders of the Queen and her confidential minister and adviser, Cardinal Pole, "in the delirious belief that they were the chosen instruments of Providence." Strange to say the unhappy sovereign and her minister passed away within a few hours of each other in the November of 1558. Pole's successor in the arch-See, Matthew Parker, has deliberately called him "Carnifex et flagellum Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ," the Executioner and Scourge of the Church of England.

All this, the hateful Spanish Marriage, the submission once more to the detested yoke of Rome, the bitter persecution and its awful scenes which followed the marriage and the submission, were crowded into the few years of Queen Mary's short reign, 1553-1558. And the lesson went home to the English heart, for ever associating the old form of religion, Romanism as it is popularly called, with the idea of submission to a foreign power coupled with bitter relentless persecution. The Reformation in consequence was invested in the eyes of the people of England with a halo of estimation, even of veneration it had never possessed before. It has been strikingly said: "The reckless plundering of the monasteries, the desecration of altars and shrines, the sad spectacle of ruined abbey and desolate church, the hard and destructive policy of the extreme reformer which had so seriously affected the progress of the Reformation in England,

were all effectually veiled by the smoke which went up to heaven from the three hundred Marian burnings."

Trials of Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer.—In the long roll of the Marian Martyrs, three men stand out in sad prominence specially marked out by their exalted rank, two of the three distinguished for their great learning, and the third (Latimer), although less learned, being the best known and the most loved by the people of the Reformation leaders. Within three months of Mary's accession these three were imprisoned. In the spring of 1554 they were transferred from the Tower to Oxford and there formally tried and of course condemned. We dwell on the case of the three, for the charges under which they were brought to trial are virtually the same for which the large majority of the less distinguished reformers suffered the penalty of being burnt at the stake.

The central point of "the Heresy" for which all were alike condemned, lay in the long disputed question of the Presence in the Eucharist. No belief in a spiritual Presence, although such a belief was shown to rest upon the teaching of an almost immemorial antiquity, upon the teaching of Doctors of the Church whose orthodoxy was unimpeached, was sufficient to clear the accused. Transubstantiation in its full and complete acceptation must be confessed; not a few of those in authority in that reign of blood, it is clear, would have been willing to have taken, in the case of the accused, a broader and a vaguer view, and to have dealt gently with the so-called heretics—but Mary and Pole were rigid. Another point besides the central question of Transubstantiation was urged at the Oxford trial. It was asserted by the Court that "In the Mass there is a life-giving propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of the dead as well as the living." Ridley's reply to this third point was uncompromising: "Christ, as St Paul writeth, made one perfect sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, neither can any man reiterate that sacrifice of His, and yet in the communion, there is an acceptable sacrifice to God of prayer and thanksgiving, but to say that sins are taken away,

which wholly and perfectly was done by Christ's passion, that is a great derogation of the merits of Christ's passion."

On the great question of "the Presence" the leading reformers were singularly definite and precise. "The true body of Christ," said *Cranmer*, speaking before the Oxford Commissioners and Judges, "is present to those that truly receive Him, but spiritually . . . We receive with the mouth the Sacrament, but the thing and matter of the Sacrament we receive by faith. Inwardly we eat Christ's Body, outwardly we eat the Sacrament."

Ridley's doctrine of the Sacrament was absolutely identical with that of Cranmer. In the Oxford Court this profound theologian spoke the following memorable words which were subsequently virtually embodied in one of Thirty-nine Articles. "Evil men do eat the very true and natural Body of Christ sacramentally and no further, but good men do eat the very true Body both sacramentally and spiritually by grace."

Latimer's doctrine was the same as that of his two friends. He expressed himself as fearful lest he should be thought to make the Sacrament nothing else but a bare sign, so he repeated that therein he acknowledged a spiritual Presence, which was sufficient for a Christian man, and that this might be called a real Presence.

The decree of the Council of Lateran (A.D. 1216) which affirmed Transubstantiation, being quoted against Ridley, the bishop demurred as to the authority of this Council. "What," cried Dr Tresham, one of the canons of Christ Church, "you reject the Council of Lateran?—write it down." "Write it a dozen times," said Ridley.

The sentence passed upon these notable prisoners was a foregone conclusion. They were condemned to be burned; the three receiving the award of their doom with touching and dignified composure. This was in the spring of 1554. Eighteen months though had to pass before the last act of the famous tragedy was played out in Oxford. The cold disapproval of Rome preventing any further action being immediately taken. It was in the late autumn of 1555 when Rome

—reconciled with England—with its old imperious disregard of all important ecclesiastical measures which were not based upon direct sanction from the Pope, ignoring the official condemnation of the previous year, formally issued a Commission to try the three afresh. In the cases of Ridley and Latimer, as Rome denied altogether their Episcopal rank, a Commission was issued a few days after Cranmer's new trial by the Legate Cardinal Pole. (Cranmer, who had originally received the pall from the Roman Pontiff, must, as an exalted dignitary, be judged by the Pope himself, who appointed for the trial special delegates). These second Oxford trials largely turned upon the same points as were discussed at the first trial; the question, however, of the Roman supremacy in this second naturally came prominently forward. Ridley and Latimer were, of course, condemned again; and after the painful ceremony of degradation, suffered as martyrs at the stake in the October of 1555—"lighting up," in Latimer's well-known parting words to Ridley, "such a candle in England as by God's grace shall never be put out." They were the most prominent, the best loved of that noble army of martyrs who made the Reformation in England possible.

Cranmer, the archbishop, too, was condemned, but in his case there was a long and weary delay, the proceedings of the court being sent to Rome for confirmation. In the December of 1555 Cranmer was pronounced to be excommunicated and deprived, and was ordered to be handed over to the secular power as a notorious heresiarch, the bull for his degradation arriving from Rome early in 1556.

Very sad and touching were the circumstances which attended the close of Cranmer's anxious and chequered career. Solitary, and broken with long and weary imprisonment, deluded by false hopes, the great Reformer, we know too well, formally recanted, and at the last, with extraordinary courage and dignity, renounced his recantation, dying with all the nobility and exalted faith of a martyr.

Cranmer—his Work and Character.—On the whole, posterity has judged him kindly and sympathetic-

ally, loving to forget in his splendid confession that last sad memory, the temporary weakness which went before. England thinks of him as, on the whole, a great and earnest man, who in an arduous and most difficult career, slowly fitted himself for the position of Moderator of the English Reformation—remembers him as the scholar ever at work—as a tireless unwearied toiler after truth—honours him as the man whose vast labours, continued during many long years, bore fruit in the production of the massive formularies of reformed religion, the precious treasure of the Anglican Communion—acknowledges him as one of the two or three to whom we owe our English Liturgy. With the English Bible, too, as we possess it, his honoured name will ever be closely joined.

Cranmer's was no flawless character. The just historian, while admiring generally his very noble career with an admiration ungrudging as it is sincere, is sensible that his entry into public life was stained with what seemed a mean subservience to Henry's imperious passion in the dark matter of the divorce. But years of devoted service to the Church of England in a measure atoned for this grave error in his early days. Nor can his silent acquiescence in the cruel monastic suppression be passed over in silence—only the character of Cranmer's master, Henry VIII., who brooked no opposition, must be taken into account. There is no doubt that the spirit of the archbishop became, as years passed on, more fearless as well as more far-seeing. His quiet influence during the latter years of the mighty monarch was of incalculable value, and that the terrible reactionary six Articles of Henry VIII. were so rarely used as an instrument of bitter persecution, was owing largely to the influence of Cranmer. But it was during the stormy restless years of the boy king Edward VI., those years of misgovernment and of confusion, that Cranmer rose to his full height. It was in those years of anarchy, when men of varied schools of thought were blindly groping after light, that the great charters of the English Reformation, the Prayer Book and the Articles were composed by Cranmer, and two or three of Cranmer's intimate friends.

To estimate aright the mighty debt which the Church of England owes to the great Archbishop, men should consider what would have been the complexion of the Edwardian formularies, the Prayer Book, the articles of religion, and the homilies, had not the spirit and work of Cranmer completely overpowered the strong and earnest will of men of the type of Hooper and John Knox, and neutralised effectually the destructive influence of the powerful foreign reformers.

***Elizabeth*, A.D. *1558-1603*.**—Various factors must be taken into account when we wonder at the marvellous success of the Elizabethan settlement of the religious affairs of England, and the comparative rapidity with which the settlement was carried out. First and perhaps chiefest was the evident dread of and hatred excited by the fatal policy of Queen Mary and her Minister, Cardinal Pole—the terrible persecution of the years 1555-6-7-8. This persecution, although by no means general through all England, had by its awful and cruel spectacles (some 300 persons had been burned alive, and about 100 more had died in prison owing to the rigorous measures dealt out to the so-called heretics) thoroughly alarmed all sorts and conditions of men. The evil counsels of Spain were not without reason suspected as among the chief influences which guided Mary. The reconciliation too with Rome was regarded with extreme dislike and suspicion by a large majority of Englishmen.

Then the singular dearth of conspicuously able men among the ranks of the mediæval revivalists of Mary's party was remarkable. Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, amongst those holds the foremost place, but even Gardiner cannot be considered either a theologian or a statesman of the first rank, and Mary never gave him her entire confidence, probably owing to his well-known dislike of the Spanish influence. But when Gardiner died in 1555, Mary lost her ablest adviser and minister. Pole, whom after Gardiner's death she trusted implicitly, was a bigoted Romanist and a rash and imprudent counsellor. Neither in Bonner, or in Heath, or in Tonstall, or in Thirlby, who were among the more prominent

of the Marian bishops and divines, did the mediæval reactionaries possess a commanding genius.

Elizabeth and her Advisers.—On the other hand, round Elizabeth quickly gathered a distinguished band of men—statesmen and theologians—who guided England and her Church through the difficult and dangerous years which followed the death of Mary.

Elizabeth.—But the centre of all was Queen Elizabeth herself. Her acknowledged great abilities were little known before she was called to the great office. She had been carefully, even elaborately, educated, and from the days of her extreme youth had been trained in the searching school of adversity and sorrow. The daughter of the unhappy and disgraced Anne Boleyn, her position in her father's lifetime was an ambiguous one; in Edward's and Mary's reign she had been in imminent danger. "She had lived amongst perils, and had been taught the need of severe self-restraint. Her training had been severe, but to that severity was due the character and the qualities which enabled her to face the work which lay before her."[1] When Elizabeth ascended the throne she had no very definite religious convictions. There was much in the old forms of mediæval religion which she loved, and continued to love all her life, but she was utterly averse to persecution in any form. The overbearing insolence of the old man, Pope Paul IV., soon taught the Queen that she must depend for her safety on the friendship and loyalty of others than those attached to "the old learning."

Cecil.—A powerful influence determined Elizabeth at the very outset of her reign to throw in her lot with the reformers, for by her side stood Cecil, known generally as Lord Burleigh. He had been devoted to her in her sister's lifetime, and was at once appointed by the young Queen, Secretary of State, and for some forty years was her Minister and chief adviser. As a statesman he was incomparable. Cecil's sympathies were wholly with the re-

[1] Bishop Creighton.

forming party, whose interests he faithfully served. "He is an able man," wrote De Feria, the Spanish ambassador to Philip II., "but an accursed heretic." His unerring instinct led him, as a rule, to choose wise and good men for the great church appointments, men conspicuous not merely for their learning and piety, and generally for their fairness and moderation; and generally men, to use the modern term, who were *in touch* with the majority of religious earnest Englishmen.

It was this great Minister who guided the Queen and moved her to select such men as Parker and Jewel, and other conspicuously able men who amended and supplemented the reformed liturgies and formularies of faith moulding them into the shape we now possess them, and who guided the Church of England during the anxious years of stress and struggle which made up the long and successful reign of Elizabeth.

Reforming Policy of the Queen.—Very early in the reign the intentions of the government became clearly manifest. An act was passed by the willing Parliament "for restoring to the Crown the ancient jurisdiction over the State—ecclesiastical and spiritual." The Queen thus explaining her action to the Spanish Ambassador in assuming the title of "Supreme Governor, as well in spiritual and ecclesiastical causes as in temporal"—she could not let her subjects' money be carried out of the realm by the Pope any more.

Before the middle of 1559, the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI., with a few important alterations, was embodied in the Act of Uniformity. The more weighty of these alterations were, special lessons for Sunday were appointed, Prayers for the Queen and clergy, modelled upon ancient offices of the Church, were introduced, "the Ornaments Rubric" was added, which served to correct the bareness of ornament which had marked Edward VI.'s Second Book. To the exaggerated and rigid simplicity, so dear to the extreme section among the Reformers, Elizabeth was ever opposed—and in this particular the hearts of the large majority of religious

Englishmen were with her. But the most important alteration introduced into the Second Prayer Book, and which was in strict accordance with primitive antiquity, was in the administration of the Elements in the Communion Service. It combined the clause used in the First Prayer Book with the bolder clause adopted in the Second Book.

Thus our present form contains the most ancient and reverent words of delivery, with the addition of the prayer used in the time of Pope Gregory the Great (sixth century), and also the favourite words of the more extreme Reformers, implying that each individual is to take and eat and drink, with an application of the merits of Christ's death to his own soul.

With very few unimportant changes the Services of this Amended Book of Elizabeth (1559) have been, save in the short interlude of the Puritan rule in the seventeenth century, continued in the Church of England ever since.

"In England generally the religious settlement was welcomed by the people, and corresponded to their wishes. . . . They detested the Pope, they wished for services which they could understand, and were weary of superstition. The number of staunch Romanists or strong Protestants (at this period) was very small." [1]

Act of Uniformity, 1559.—As regards the clergy—as a body they were prepared quietly to acquiesce in the change from the Roman reaction of Mary. Out of 9400 of the parochial clergy it is computed that the number of those who declined to comply with the Act of Uniformity were under 200. These were gently dealt with, and had pensions assigned to them. A considerable number of dignitaries of the Church were, however, ejected for non-compliance. Of the 13 surviving Marian bishops who refused to accept the change, 11 were ejected from their sees. In the case of Heath, of York, and Tunstall of Durham, their sees were not filled up for nearly two years. All these bishops were treated with conspicuous kindness and consideration, Bonner, Bishop of London, whose zeal in the Marian persecution had been

[1] Dr Creighton, Bishop of London.

specially notorious, alone being imprisoned. On the whole they gratefully repaid the kindness shown to them by never making any attempt to set up a rival succession to the Church



ARCHBISHOP PARKER
(*From the Portrait at Lambeth Palace.*)

of England. The parochial clergy very generally accepted the change.

Archbishop Parker. — In the December of 1559, Matthew Parker, who had been largely consulted in the

liturgical and other religious changes of 1558-9, was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury in succession to Cardinal Pole, who had passed away in the previous year (1558). Dr Parker, who occupies in the story of the Elizabethan settlement a most conspicuous position, at an early period of his life won distinction as a considerable theological scholar and preacher in the University of Cambridge; when about forty years of age he was elected Master of Corpus Christi College; some time before he had been chaplain to the hapless Anne Boleyn, who before her death asked the Cambridge scholar to watch over her little daughter Elizabeth. To this early connection of Parker with the ill-fated Queen, no doubt was owing the steady friendship of Elizabeth. His career continued to be a distinguished one. We hear of him as chaplain to Henry VIII. and Dean of Lincoln. The fact of his being a married man tells us he was opposed to mediæval views in the matter of the celibacy of the clergy. Under Mary he was deprived of his preferments, and lived in retirement. On the accession of Elizabeth, he was at once summoned to the court by the Queen and Cecil, being well known as a very learned and moderate divine, well versed in the deviations of Roman teaching from the truth, but at the same time opposed to the introduction into Reformed teaching of the views of Calvin, and even more to the far graver errors of Zwingli. Cecil and Bacon, among the royal advisers, were intimately acquainted with his views, and deemed him the most fitting of the theologians of the day to carry out Elizabeth's views of a conservative Reformation of the English Church. He very reluctantly accepted the difficult post of Primate, alleging that his weakly health and want of fortune and lack of ambition unfitted him for the high position. However, his scruples were overcome, and the result well justified the high opinion of the Queen and her advisers.

The consecration of the Elizabethan archbishop was conducted with extraordinary care; the act of consecration was performed by four regularly consecrated bishops, three of

whom had been deprived by Mary. In the opinion of Parker and the more thoughtful of the English Reformers who under Queen Elizabeth guided the great changes of 1559 in the English Church, "the Apostolic succession was of vital importance to the very existence of the Church." Without the Apostolic succession the continuity of the Church and the identity of the present and past could not be preserved, and eminent and acknowledged scholars who have written in later times on the validity of Anglican orders have established for ever in the minds of serious theologians (not by any means confined to scholars who belong to the Anglican Church) that in the case of Archbishop Parker and his colleagues in the Episcopate, all things were done in perfect harmony with the immemorial usages of the Catholic Church.

With equal care, the sees vacant through the death or deprivation of the Marian bishops were filled up. The prelates chosen were generally men inclined to moderate and conservative views, most of the new bishops were also highly distinguished for their theological attainments:—John Jewel, Edmund Grindal, Richard Cox, Edwin Sandys, Edmund Guest (or Gheast) being among the more famous. Rigidly, and with extreme caution, was the unbroken continuity of the Church of England preserved by the wise foresight of Parker and the Elizabethan advisers.

Bishop Jewel.—Of these, Bishop Jewel perhaps was the most distinguished. His apology for the Church of England, published in 1562, still holds a high position among the "classic" ecclesiastical writings. It was translated directly into the chief foreign languages of Europe, and appearing in the last session of the long drawn out Council of Trent, was deemed so weighty a work that two bishops, one a Spanish and the other an Italian, undertook to answer it in the name of Rome. But the Roman answer in question never was forthcoming. In the second authoritative Book of Homilies (1561-62) put forth in the earlier years of the reign, Jewel was one of the chief writers. He is justly considered one of the ablest and most authorita-

tive expounders of the true genius and teaching of the Church of England. In the year 1560 the reigning Pope, Pius IV. (Cardinal di Medici), made overtures for a reconciliation with England, but it was too late, the papal Nuncio not being allowed to land in England.

Parker's Work.—There were many grave difficulties, however, which presented themselves in the Elizabethan settlement. One of the earliest was the old question of the enforced celibacy of the clergy. The Queen herself felt strongly on this point, and wished in all ways to discourage marriage. The archbishop, on the other hand, was firm and would not yield, and insisted on the recognition of clerical marriages as a right. It was settled as he wished, and the point has never been raised in England since. In some directions, however, Parker and his friends were determined to restore some of the mediæval uses to which no suspicion of superstition was attached. While the English Prayer Book, based on the Second Book of Edward VI., with the alterations above alluded to, was required by the law of the land to be generally used, a Latin version based on the First Book of 1549 was permitted in the chapels of the Universities and in the schools of Eton and Winchester. Little, however, was heard of the Latin version, nor did it ever exercise any perceptible influence in the Church of England. One important return to primitive usage was introduced by Parker into the Prayer Book which has considerably influenced the life of the Church. The Calendar of the Second Prayer Book was stripped by the zeal of the reformers of 1552 of many of its holy memories; the Calendar we now find in the Anglican Prayer Book, with some slight additions in 1661, was the result of revision labours of 1561 under Elizabeth's archbishop, who was ever desirous of maintaining the continuity of the Church of England with the Catholic Church of antiquity. The lesser holy days, some forty-eight in number, known popularly as "black letter days," were replaced in the Calendar by the conservative spirit which animated the Elizabethan authorities, intensely anxious to show

that the Church of England was still undissevered in spirit from the pre-reformation Church of earlier years.

The Convocation of 1562 was a most important gathering, and much was finally decided in that assembly. A strong effort was made there by the party of extreme Reformers to bring about the discontinuance of various customs of the Catholic Church of immemorial antiquity, such as the sign of the cross in baptism, the position of kneeling on the reception of the Eucharist, the observance of festivals and saints' days. But a large majority supported Parker and the Anglican party, as it was eventually called, and the "Puritan" party, to use the appellation which gradually came into use, protested in vain.

The Articles of Religion.—It was at this Convocation that Parker's draft of the "Articles of Religion" was accepted. The archbishop took as the basis of the "Articles" the great Edwardian formulary of the Forty-two Articles drawn up by Cranmer. Certain changes were made in the original Forty-two Articles of Cranmer, but these changes were of no vital importance.

They were finally committed to the editorship of Jewel, being then thirty-nine in number, and in A.D. 1571 received the formal sanction of Parliament. But it has been well remarked that this great formulary of the Church of England possesses an authority beyond that of any single Convocation or Parliament, viz., the unanimous and solemn assent of all the bishops and clergy of the Church of England and of the two universities for more than 300 years. It is worth remembering that of these Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England *by far the greater part* are as they left the study chambers of Cranmer and Ridley.

Much has been written and urged against the heavy chains which an unchanging formula of faith has bound round the National Church, but it may be fairly asked, "Would the Church of England have ever reached its position of mighty influence, still less maintained it, without some such broad and massive formulary of faith to guide and steady its accredited teachers?"

The English Bible, now free and accessible to all, was more and more read and studied in England. The Marian English exiles in Geneva, among whom were some true scholars, had carefully revised Tyndale's famous version. It was printed, the New Testament in 1557, the whole Bible in 1560, and was accompanied with notes, of their kind interesting, but strongly coloured with the Calvinism under whose shadow the revisers of this justly famed version lived and wrote. It was a portable handy volume, a small quarto, and it attained to a marvellous popularity. Not less than eighty editions, some of the whole Bible, were printed between 1558 and 1611. It was especially popular, as might have been expected from the colouring of the notes, among the Puritan party through the whole reign of Elizabeth and her successor. Parker was anxious to put out a new and improved version of the Scriptures *without* the bitter Calvinistic notes. These unhappy polemical comments were the great disfigurement of most of the early versions of the Scripture from the days of Erasmus onwards. The version of the Scripture known as the *Bishop's Bible* was the result of his labours. The company of revisers consisted of eight bishops and several deans and professors. They adopted the improvements of the new Genevan version. Their labours extended over four years—1563-4 to 1568. It was a valuable addition to Biblical editions, but the magnificent folio, owing to its great size and cost, never passed into general circulation, and was practically only used in cathedrals and churches.

Vestiarian Controversy, &c. — In the very centre of the Church of England during all the earlier years of Elizabeth's reign there was much searching of heart among its rulers on many points connected with ritual and observances. Some of the most earnest were scandalised by such practices as the retention of the Crucifix in the Queen's chapel, the approval of the Latin service above noticed, Episcopal robes, and other matters. But the wise counsel of men like Parker and Cecil and, above all, the known wishes of the Queen prevailed, and the dangerous Vestiarian Con-

troversy, as it was called, was settled by the submission of eminent reformers like Jewel, Grindal, and Sandys, who had learned abroad during the Marian exile to mislike such things. Still a party continued to exist and even to grow in numbers, whose members became gradually known as the Puritans, whose exaggerated love of extreme simplicity in worship was a source of increasing disquiet in the Church.

To counteract disorder and laxity and even irreverence in many directions in A.D. 1566, Archbishop Parker put in force certain ordinances known as "***advertisements.***" In these the clergy were required to urge in their teaching a reverent estimation of the Holy Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper. Frequent communions were enjoined in cathedrals and colleges, regulations as to the dress of officiating ministers were included. Preaching was enjoined. Searching enquiries as to the character of candidates for holy orders were to be made, a distinctive dress for the clergy was ordered. These "advertisements" have since been quoted as authoritative in the canons of 1661.

From the general tenor of these "advertisements," from the accounts which we possess of the Vestiarian Controversy, from various contemporary sources which give a picture of religious life in England, it is clear that during the primacy of Parker, 1559-1576—the period during which the "Elizabethan Settlement" was carried out—there was in the Church of England occasional disorder and laxity, and here and there instances of deplorable irreverence. But on the whole we may conclude that during the first half of Elizabeth's reign the Church of England was a strong church, and one which may be said to have fairly represented the religious feeling of the great majority of the English people.

Parker the Pioneer of the Elizabethan Men of Letters.—Outside his purely ecclesiastical work, the great Elizabethan Archbishop will ever hold a distinguished place among the makers of modern England as the pioneer of that marvellous band of men of letters who contributed to the sudden awakening of Letters in England in the second half

of the reign. Strange indeed it is that Parker in his work-filled anxious life could find time for his important literary work. It is, however, to Parker that we owe the gathering together of masses of historic records scattered and perishing from neglect, records which once had been the treasured possession of the ruined monastic libraries. Very soon after the Archbishop's death, the literary movement to which he had given the first impulse, gathered strength, and England, which had been singularly behind the other European nations in letters, took a foremost place in the production of literature. The names of John Lyly, Sir Philip Sidney, Hooker and Bacon, among prose writers, and Spenser, and somewhat later, Shakespeare, among poets and dramatists, may be instanced as splendid examples of the sudden awakening of letters in England which was so marked a feature of the latter half of the Elizabethan period. Of this famous band, which has contributed so largely to the making of modern literary England, Matthew Parker, the gentle but ever wise archbishop, in the great impulse he gave to letters, may fairly be termed the illustrious pioneer.

The growth of dislike and dread of Rome.— As might have been expected, for many years after the Elizabethan Settlement, in the hearts of many even who quietly conformed to the recognised state of things in the Church of England, there still remained a lingering attachment to not a few of the old mediæval uses and customs. In the Midland and Northern Counties this was especially noticeable. The Queen herself looked with gentleness upon the devotees to the old state of things, and even repressed the zeal of some among her advisers when they would have interfered with persecuting zeal.

But this feeling of lingering attachment was killed by the policy of Rome, which not only supported the serious pretensions of the Romanist Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, to the Crown of England, but which countenanced and fostered a succession of dangerous plots against Elizabeth and her Government, and finally encouraged, if it did not prompt, the formidable attack of Spain on England when the Armada made

its famous attempt, so happily and gallantly repelled. Pope Pius IV., 1559-1566, whose attempt to conciliate England we have alluded to, was followed by Michele Ghislieri, a Dominican known as Pius V., a man of devoted piety, but a stern bigot. It was this pope who in 1570 launched the Bull of Excommunication against the English Queen. His successors more or less followed the same bitter hostile policy, and became associated in the minds of Englishmen as being more or less closely connected with plots against the government and peace of England, as being cognisant of several designs even against the life of the beloved Queen. Gradually the Roman Catholics, and even those inclined to the usages of the old Mediæval Church, became suspected of disloyalty, and reluctantly on the Queen's part, the policy of toleration was exchanged for a sterner policy of repression. The execution of the Romanist Mary Queen of Scots, in 1587, was the culminating point of this policy slowly and sorrowfully adopted by Elizabeth. And the arrival of the mighty Spanish Armada in 1588 in English waters, and the extreme danger in which England found itself, was the crowning event which changed the feeling of sympathy for the old forms of religion into that deep dread and hatred of Rome and of everything which seemed connected with Rome, which has for nearly three centuries characterised the English nation. The avowed sympathy, and even the approval which Rome showed to such acts as the atrocious massacre of the French Huguenots on St Bartholomew's day (1572), and to the awful deeds of blood which disgraced the Spanish rule in the Low Countries, and which led to the successful revolt against Spain, helped in no small degree to form English opinion.

In much the dispassionate modern historian freely confesses this dislike, perhaps this hatred of Rome and Roman ways among the English people is exaggerated, perhaps unreasonable, but in the days of Elizabeth it was indeed far from baseless, and, rightly or wrongly, the events which happened then have largely influenced and strongly coloured the whole subsequent history of the Church of England.

The Church of England during the earlier years of the Elizabethan Settlement, was thus exposed to very grave dangers. On the one side was Rome with its small phalanx of devoted adherents and its many sympathising friends, among whom must be reckoned Elizabeth; on the other side was the Puritan party, determined to introduce into England the many changes adopted by the foreign reformers, although such changes would irretrievably have destroyed the continuity of the English Church with the ancient Catholic Church.

In the Providence of God these grave dangers were averted. The attitude of Rome during many years identifying her policy with that of the deadly enemies of the Queen and her Government gradually alienated Elizabeth and those who like her sympathised with the Romanists as far as doctrine and mediæval rites were concerned.

The Puritans.—The peril which menaced the Church from the Puritans was averted largely owing to the wise counsels of the minister Cecil and to the quiet wisdom of Parker the archbishop, and to the moderation and loyalty of the band of statesmen and bishops by whom he was surrounded. The Elizabethan bishops were for the most part men whose theology was deeply coloured with the teaching of those eminent foreign reformers with whom during their exile in the days of Mary they had consorted, but who, for the sake of preserving unbroken the continuity of the ancient English Church, subordinated their personal bias and loyally accepted the middle course of conciliation adopted by Cecil and Parker—that *via media* which has been and still is the strength of the Church of England. Thus the Church of England was, as the reign of Elizabeth advanced, gradually strengthened by the rallying to her side those who, in the first years of the "Settlement," were sympathisers with Rome, save on the point of the Papal supremacy, and those who, on the other, sympathised with much of the teaching of the foreign reformers.

Archbishop Grindal. — When Archbishop Parker died in 1576 something of a Puritan reaction set in, owing

to the deep distrust which Roman intrigue had inspired in most serious Englishmen. And Grindal, Archbishop of York, whose bias was strongly Puritan, through the influence of Cecil, was chosen as Parker's successor to the Primacy. Grindal had been the intimate friend of Bucer, the author of the "Censura" of the First Prayer Book, at Cambridge, and of Peter Martyr, when in exile at Strasburg. Still he was the friend of Parker during many years, and under his influence had become convinced of the great and beneficent work which lay before the Church of England of the "Settlement." So, in spite of his Puritanical bias during the six or seven years of his primacy, he loyally upheld the order established by his predecessor Parker; but the Queen never gave him her confidence, and the relations between them were disturbed and unsatisfactory; and when death removed Grindal from the scene in A.D. 1583, Whitgift, Bishop of Worcester, a Churchman after her own heart, was translated to Canterbury.

Archbishop Whitgift, — a distinguished Cambridge scholar,—had been a chaplain of Ridley. During the Marian troubles he had been enabled to live in retirement in England, and thus he never came under the direct influence of the eminent foreign reformers, as was the case with so many of the more prominent among the Elizabethan theologians and bishops. To this fact may fairly be attributed much of the spirit in which Whitgift ruled and guided the Church during the last twenty years of Elizabeth's reign. After the death of Mary, Whitgift returned to public life, and, as Master of Trinity and Vice-Chancellor, exercised great influence over the University, being especially distinguished as a preacher and controversialist, and apologist of the Church of England. He was the recognised champion of the Church against the extreme Puritan party, who, in the person of Thomas Cartwright, violently attacked the Church in his famous "Admonition to Parliament" and in other writings and addresses. In 1576 Whitgift, who was looked upon with extreme favour by the Queen, became Bishop

of Worcester, and, on the death of Grindal in 1583, Primate.

The Policy of Archbishop Whitgift, A.D. ***1583-1604.***—The conciliatory policy of Parker and Grindal was to a large extent abandoned by Whitgift, who in this was strongly supported by the Queen. The gentle tolerance of Parker and the more pronounced but still cautious Puritan bias of Grindal was exchanged for a more rigid order and a sterner discipline in the Church. The Puritan party, as we have remarked, had, owing to the extreme disfavour into which the Romish sympathisers had fallen, grown stronger, and supported by the foreign schools of the Reformation had become more emphatic in their denunciation of what they deemed the retrograde policy of the Church of England. Whitgift was determined to crush the influence of this fast-growing Puritan school in the Church, and required that *all* the clergy should subscribe to three Articles, which included their affirmation of the royal supremacy, of the lawfulness of the Book of Common Prayer, and their assent to the Thirty-nine Articles.

In spite of strong and earnest opposition Whitgift held on to this policy of stern repression of Puritanism, some even of the Puritan Nonconformists were executed, many more driven into exile; indeed the "great rift," which after a few years became sadly manifest in the English Church, may be said to have dated from this period, roughly including the last fifteen years of Elizabeth's reign.

Nor can the loyal son of the Church of England fairly find fault with Whitgift's general procedure, although he may deplore the severity with which his measures to secure order and discipline and conformity were carried out, a fundamental principle upon which the Church under the government of Elizabeth's favourite prelate was based, being the *Apostolic Succession*, as necessary to the very being and existence of a Catholic Church. The *Ritual* of the Church of England, although simplified, was the old ritual of the Catholic Church. The *formularies of religion* were strictly based upon the most ancient Catholic models. The *prayers*,

with rare exceptions, were translated word for word from the "Sarum," and other uses current for centuries in England. *The Faith* was the faith professed by Chrysostom and Augustine, by Bede and Dunstan, even the very words of the ancient Catholic symbols being carefully preserved.

Contemporary pictures of the Church of England at this period (1583-1603) enable us to form a fairly accurate idea of its great strength and careful discipline, and bear witness to its general acceptability to the large majority of the people.

The "Ecclesiastical Polity" of Richard Hooker. —The last years of the great Queen's rule witnessed the publication of a work which will ever hold a foremost place in the literature of our country. This was the scholarly and eloquent exposition of the position of the Church of England by Richard Hooker, somewhile "Master of the Temple," in his "Ecclesiastical Polity." It was written for the purpose of showing the grounds upon which the Church resisted the claims and traversed the assertions of the Puritan party. The treatise has been accurately described as "the first great systematic development of Anglican theology in which can be traced the ideal embodied in the Elizabethan Settlement." It was, too, "an apology for a partial and to a great extent accidental settlement of the difficult questions raised by the Reformation." In it he brings out with rare clearness the fitness of the Church he defended to be the Church of a great nation, showing with conspicuous success "the fundamental mistake of the Puritans by an exaggerated and false theory of the purpose and function of Scripture as the exclusive guide of human conduct."[1] Of the eight books composing the work, the fourth and fifth are perhaps the most widely studied. The fourth dealing with the charges brought by the Puritan party against the Church of England's worship and rites, of its want of apostolical simplicity, of its retention of that which had been hopelessly corrupted by idolatry. The fifth book examines the various parts of the Prayer Book, the doctrine of the Sacraments, and their

[1] Dean Church

forms of ministration, &c. "From time immemorial it has been studied as the best commentary on our Prayer Book.[1] The seventh contains the argument for Episcopacy and the question of apostolical succession, and asserts that the form of Church government from the beginning, even from apostolic times, has been Episcopal, that for a thousand and five hundred years and upwards (Hooker wrote before A.D. 1600) the Church of Christ hath now continued under the sacred regimen of bishops." The book was brought out under the immediate sanction of Whitgift, the archbishop recognising the importance of the work, but the surpassing grandeur of the writing was only fully recognised after Hooker's death, nor is it too much to say that after four centuries the name of the author is better known among the English-speaking peoples than that of any other of the famous Elizabethan divines.

Lancelot Andrewes. — One more picture must be sketched to complete our gallery of representative churchmen of this great age. Andrewes, afterwards Bishop of Winchester, who was born in 1553, before Elizabeth had passed away, was already a powerful influence in the Church. He lived through the reign of James I., and when he died in the days of Charles I. was esteemed the greatest of the Anglican theologians. Besides his vast scholarship he was the most eloquent of English preachers, but it was as a controversialist that he was most renowned.

While Hooker defended his Church especially against the attacks of the Puritan, Andrewes' learning and skill was directed against the Romanist. A real revival of life in the Roman Communion had followed the Council of Trent. The frightful scandals which had dismayed Erasmus and shocked Colet and More were in great measure things of the past, and while the old mediæval errors in doctrine remained uncorrected, the sadly relaxed discipline of the Roman Church of the later mediæval period had given place to a sterner and more earnest state of things. In Continental Europe Romanism

[1] Bishop Barry.

positively had gained ground, and countries once wavering, viz., South Germany, the Low Countries, and France, became once more devoted adherents to the Papacy.

Simultaneously with this great revival in religious life and energy, there arose in the Roman Church a most distinguished group [1] of theologians and historians, and, as it has been well said, "it appeared that Rome had much more to say for itself than it appeared to Cranmer or even to Jewel." Andrewes' great work was to reply to the really formidable attacks of this group of eminent men, and he did his task well and effectually, showing in his learned and scholarly treatises [2] that the Church of England "could claim as large and essential a conformity with antiquity, even in outward things, as could be pretended by Rome, and a far deeper agreement in spirit."

The Puritans at the close of the sixteenth century and earlier years of the seventeenth century. —But after all the gravest danger to the Church of England was the steady growth of Puritanism at home, nor was this danger to the Church confined to the efforts of the extremists of the party. There were many very noble and earnest quiet spirits among the Puritans in the earlier stages of the great rift which parted serious religious Englishmen into two opposing camps. These were sorely disappointed at the effect of the great Roman revival above briefly sketched. The hopes once cherished of a wide and general reformation *abroad*, were gradually dissipated, while *at home* many earnest and devout Puritans thought they discerned clear signs of a disposition in the Church of England of "a longing to ally the religion of the present far too closely with the religion

[1] A glance at the dates of some of the more famous of these will show how formidable a phalanx of opponents of the Anglican Communion arose at this juncture. The last quarter of the sixteenth, and the first fifteen or twenty years of the seventeenth centuries, saw *Baronius*, 1530-1607; *Suarez*, 1548-1617; *Duperron*, 1556-1618; *Bellarmine*, 1542-1621; of these great "four" Suarez and Bellarmine belonged to the new order of Jesuits.

[2] Especially in his "Tortura Torti," with its quaint and little understood title, and in his "Responsio ad Apologiam Card. Bellarmini."

of the past." And the policy of Whitgift and the Queen, and not improbably the writings of Hooker, in the latter years of the century, gave some colour to these apprehensions.

Thus "the rift," as we shall see, grew wider, how it ended the story of the reigns of the first two Stuart kings will sorrowfully show.

END OF PART III.

The Anglican Church

SOME IMPORTANT DATES

Sovereigns of England.		A.D.
James I.	The Hampton Court Conference	1604
	Authorised Version of Bible	1611
Charles I.	Laud, Dean of Gloucester	1616
	„ Archbishop	1633
	„ beheaded	1645
	Period of *Absolutism of Charles I.*	1629-1640
	Laud and Strafford chief advisers of Crown	
The Commonwealth and Oliver Cromwell	The Long Parliament	1640-1653
	The Church of England temporarily submerged	1641-1660
	Directory ordered in place of Prayer Book	1645
Charles II.	Restoration of the Monarchy and the Church	1660
	The Savoy Conference	1661
	Act of Uniformity	1662
	The Persecuting Acts of the Cavalier Parliament	1664-1670
James II.	The Roman Catholic King re-established. High Commission Court, etc., etc.	1686
William III., Mary	Toleration Act	1689
Anne	S.P.C.K. and S.P.G. commenced	1698-1701
George I.	Convocation silenced	1717
George II.	Wesley and Whitfield	1738-(1740)
	Evangelical Revival	
George III.	Wilberforce and the abolition of the slave trade	1789-1807
George IV., William IV.	Charles Simeon	1782-1836
	Oxford Movement	1833-1846
Victoria	Lord Shaftesbury's work and influence (up to)	1885
	Revival of Convocation	1852

James I. a.d. 1603-1625—The Hampton Court Conference and the "Authorised Version."—When the Scottish King inherited the crown of Elizabeth in A.D. 1603, the hopes of the Puritans, who had been so long looked upon with coldness and dislike, rose high, for Scotland, largely owing to the restless work and splendid enthusiasm of John Knox, was intensely Protestant. With the Scottish Reformation had meant destruction, and upon the ruins of the old Mediæval Church they built up a Communion which had turned to Geneva and Calvin for their School of Theology. But the English Puritans were doomed to disappointment. The Scottish Prince known in England as James I. had learned to hate Puritanism. The Scottish Reformers had been closely connected with the earlier scenes of the dark tragedy of his mother, Mary Stuart's life. They had, too, defied and terrified him, and as King of England he at once freed himself from the hated Puritanical yoke.

Before his coronation some 800 English clergymen presented to him what is termed the "Millenary petition," which prayed for a reform in the procedure of the Church courts, and for the removal of what they deemed superstitious usages from the Anglican Prayer Book. The result was the summoning by the King of the Assembly known as the "Hampton Court" Conference. The Conference was composed of bishops and divines of the Church of England and of a certain number of representatives of the Puritan party. Bancroft, Bishop of London, played the leading part, Whitgift, the Archbishop, was aged and sick, and passed away the same year, 1604. The Puritans were treated with but scant courtesy, and no real concessions were made to them.

Certain changes and additions of no great moment were made in the Book of Common Prayer; perhaps the most important was the concluding portion of the "Catechism" treating of the Sacraments, which was attributed to Overall, Dean of St Paul's. But the Hampton Court Conference was the starting-point of the famous revision of the Scriptures, known amongst all English-speaking peoples as the Authorised

Version. Forty-seven revisers appear in the king's list as engaged in the great work which appeared in 1611. The text of the Bishop's Bible was closely followed, "was as little altered as the truth of the original will permit." Tyndale's, Coverdale's, and the Genevan revisions were also used, especially the Genevan. Five successive editions were published in three years, but for a long time the popularity of the Genevan Version, alluded to above at some length, was undiminished. The general accuracy and the surpassing beauty of the language and phraseology of the English Authorised Version, the work of the revisers of James I., has been very generally acknowledged. "The language of this the noblest of modern versions, has intertwined itself with the controversies, the devotions and the literature of the English people. It has gone wherever they have gone over the face of the whole earth." But we must remember that after all, especially in the case of the New Testament, that it is substantially a reproduction of Tyndale's original translation in its first shape, or a revision of versions almost entirely based on it.

The Primacy of Richard Bancroft and its policy, 1604-1610.—Bancroft, Bishop of London, who succeeded Whitgift in the Primacy at the beginning of James I.'s reign, was a dear friend and attached follower of Whitgift, the favourite prelate of Elizabeth. A chaplain of the famous Elizabethan Bishop Cox of Ely, he was distinguished as a preacher and divine, and was notorious for his animosity to the Puritan claims. He closely followed the repressive policy of his master and predecessor Whitgift. His great work was the collection of the various canons, injunctions, etc., which had been passed in the reigns of Edward VI. and Elizabeth. Derived from this body of Canons of Bancroft, passed by the Convocation of Canterbury, and by letters patent made binding also on York (1604), three Articles were required of the clergy, who were compelled to sign them. (1) They included an acknowledgment of the supremacy of the king in matters spiritual and temporal; (2) they required an undertaking that the Book of Common Prayer was to be used,

and only that Book in public prayer, and in administration of the Sacraments; (3) they asked for an acknowledgment that the thirty-nine Articles were agreeable to the Word of God.

Three hundred Puritan clergymen[1] refused to sign and were driven into open non-conformity. The comparative ease, however, with which this seemingly harsh measure of Bancroft's was carried out is strong evidence that the existing state of things in the Church of England was generally acceptable; but viewed in the light of subsequent history, its wisdom has been called in question. In the six or seven years of Bancroft's rule, the work of rigidly enforcing conformity went on. A partial reaction took place on Bancroft's death, when George Abbot, an illustrious Oxford teacher, whose sympathies were with the Puritans, succeeded Bancroft as Primate. This reaction was probably owing to the influence of Henry, Prince of Wales, who, however, died in 1612. The death of Prince Henry was a fatal blow to the hopes of the Puritan party, and to the influence of Archbishop Abbot, another and a more powerful spirit coming to the front, whose life-story we shall presently give in detail.

Claim of the Crown to absolute power—The Church supports the claim—(a digression).—But before giving some account of that great Churchman, who rose to power in the latter years of the reign of King James I. and whose policy has left so deep an impression upon the Church of England, a little digression is necessary to explain the genesis and the rapid growth of the enormous claims of the Crown to supreme power—a claim which the Church of England more or less countenanced and supported, with the result that when the wearer of the crown was deposed by the people, the Church shared in the sovereign's ruin and downfall.

[1] One of the immediate results of this refusal was the Puritan settlement in North America. The famous company of the "Mayflower" which founded the Colony of Plymouth in Massachusetts in 1620, was an offshoot of this secession. They had first taken refuge in Leyden in Holland: other bands of similarly minded Puritans from time to time joined these early Puritan pioneers.

To explain the genesis of the monarchical claim we must go back to the last half of the fifteenth century. The result of the Wars of the Roses was to break for ever the power of the English nobility. The strong government of a succession of able and self-willed monarchs, including Edward IV., and the yet stronger Tudor sovereigns who followed, completed the work of the "Roses" wars. These powerful chiefs of the State were confronted in their pretensions by no strong body of nobles, and the commons were as yet too weak and too ill-organised to offer any real resistance to the imperious will of the sovereign, hence the vast personal influence exercised in ecclesiastical matters by the Tudors, Henry VIII., Mary, and Elizabeth. The struggle against the nobles produced the *Court of the Star Chamber*. The subsequent struggle against the Papacy produced the *Court of High Commission*. These tribunals were the chief, and perhaps the most obnoxious field in which the Crown encroached upon the nation. The two Courts which soon obtained such a terrible notoriety were most powerful engines of tyranny and became most dangerous instruments of oppression, instruments which might be, and were frequently used against the liberties of the people.[1]

It was under *Elizabeth* that the royal power rose to the highest point ever reached in England. But Elizabeth was intensely English, and this the people felt. She possessed in a strong degree the key to the people's hearts, and while feared, she was at the same time passionately loved. James I. the Stuart King entertained even in an exaggerated form the same views and ideas of kingship as did Henry VIII. and Elizabeth. But, different to the great Tudors, the Stuarts were never in sympathy with their subjects. They never gained the hearts of the English people, besides which, the Stuarts were confronted by a House of Commons which had gradually become powerful and well organised. Again, the Stuart monarchs James I. and Charles I. never had the rare fortune of possessing wise, civil advisers like

[1] *Cf.* Gardner, "The Puritan Revolution," chap. i., etc.

Cecil and Walsingham and others who stood by the side of Elizabeth, or conciliatory and far-seeing ecclesiastical counsellors like Parker and the brilliant company whom Parker gathered round him.

All through the long reign of Elizabeth the influence of the Crown was thrown on the side of the Church of England —the adversaries and opponents of the Church were hateful to the Queen. Nor was the Church ungrateful, for when the great contest between the sovereign (serenely confident in the justice of his claim to absolute power) and the Commons contending for the liberties of the people, assumed grave proportions, the Church of England threw its whole weight on the side of the Crown, espousing generally, and on certain occasions almost fanatically, the cause of absolutism. The Puritans, whose hostility to the Church had gradually grown in intensity during the Archiepiscopates of Whitgift and Bancroft, and who were keenly sensible that they were the objects of royal dislike and mistrust, naturally fell into line with the House of Commons and the party in the State who resisted the absolutism of the Crown, and thus a religious colour was given to the great contention; this was intensified by the action of Charles I., who, departing from the practice of the sovereigns who had immediately preceded him on the throne, reverted to the old mediæval custom of choosing his minister and adviser out of the ranks of the ecclesiastics,[1] and for eleven years Archbishop Laud shared with Strafford the responsibility of the king's government. During a portion of that time Juxon, Bishop of London, too, was Lord Treasurer. At the close of the great Civil War the Church of England found itself in direct opposition to the will of the victorious Commons, and, as might have been expected, fell with the throne.

[1] No ecclesiastic acted as Minister of the Crown under Henry VIII. after the fall of Wolsey in 1529, nor during the Protectorate in the life-time of Edward VI. In Queen Mary's short, unhappy reign the mediæval practice was reverted to in the persons of Gardner and Pole. During the long period of the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. no ecclesiastic filled any of the great civil offices.

The Laudian period of the Church of England. —The famous Archbishop of Charles I., who like his royal master closed his life on the scaffold, was born in 1573. He became a famous teacher in Oxford shortly after 1604. The prevailing teaching in Oxford at that period was Calvinistic, and the most influential of the Calvinists was Dr George Abbot, Master of University College, afterwards Primate. Laud's teaching was directly opposed to Abbot's, who became his life-long foe. One of the principal points of Laud's earlier teaching was that there could be no true church without diocesan bishops. This being assumed, the churches of Calvin and Knox would be necessarily regarded as lacking what was absolutely needful for a true church. In 1611 we find Laud President of St John's College, and a great power in the University. In 1616 the king appointed him Dean of Gloucester, and at that period Laud's public work in the Church began.

His desire was to make the Church of England a fitting shrine of Christian truth, to render her services beautiful and reverential, winning and comforting. His work in this direction has been successful and enduring, and those who revere his memory grieve that circumstances strange and unexpected ever drew him out of the path of a church reformer and organiser into the thorny and confused way of politics. He was eminently well fitted to tread the first, singularly ill-equipped for the second. Rapidly to sketch his life.

Laud was Dean of Gloucester from 1616 to 1621, when King James appointed him to the See of St David's. In that somewhat remote diocese he was seen but little. His intimacy with Buckingham, the all-powerful favourite, introduced him to Prince Charles (afterwards Charles I.) and the foundations of that future friendship which ended so fatally both for sovereign and prelate were laid. In 1625 James I. died, and Laud stood high in the favour of the new king. He succeeded Andrewes as Dean of the Chapels Royal, and was regularly consulted on all points connected with the Church. The year 1626 witnessed his translation to the

diocese of Bath and Wells. In 1628 he became Bishop of London, and in 1633, on the death of Archbishop Abbot, who had long lost all influence, Laud succeeded him as Primate. During the eleven years 1629-1640, when Charles I. ruled without a parliament, Laud virtually acted as Chief Minister, for though Wentworth, better perhaps known as Earl of Strafford, Laud's colleague in the royal favour, initiated most of the Acts of Charles, Wentworth was much in Ireland, while Laud was ever at the king's side at Whitehall, and had the chief voice, not only in home but in foreign affairs. Weston, Earl of Portland (who died in 1635); Bishop Juxon, who in 1636 became Lord Treasurer; and Windebank, Secretary of State, the best known Ministers of the period of "absolutism," were all more or less Laud's faithful friends and supporters.

Before the close of 1640, after the Scottish troubles had made the king's position untenable, the "Long Parliament" had assembled, and Strafford and Laud, the responsible ministers of "the absolutism," were committed to the Tower. Strafford was impeached and executed in 1641. Laud remained in close confinement during the terrible period of the Civil War. When in 1644 the Royalist cause was virtually lost, the imprisoned Laud was brought to trial. The process was a long-drawn-out one, but in the first days of 1645 the Archbishop was condemned, the king being utterly powerless to help him, and he perished on Tower Hill. In less than half a year after Laud's death the fatal field of Naseby was fought in the June of 1645. This battle really closed the Civil War.

It was his strange career as Minister of "the absolutism" and its tragic close which has popularly obscured the great work of Laud's life as a true Church reformer, and earned for him the bitter criticism of our more popular historians.[1] When Laud was made Dean of Gloucester in 1616, from which date he was enabled with some authority to proceed with the reforms which he deemed so necessary in the Anglican

[1] Such as Macaulay and Carlyle.

Church. The Elizabethan settlement had been in force for a little more than half a century, much had indeed been done, allowing for the difficulties which naturally accompanied the great change from the Marian policy, taking into consideration, too, the Puritan influences ever at work, which tended gravely to counteract many of the original designs of Archbishop Parker, and his colleagues. The Church of England, on the whole, presented a striking example of uniformity and of strength; above all, it was generally satisfactory to the majority of serious Englishmen. Still in many, very many, of the English churches, and even in cathedrals, there was a regrettable want of order and reverence in the services, and in some cases a lamentable carelessness and neglect were too visible. The fabrics of many of the churches, even of the more important, were in a ruinous condition, and the fittings and furniture of not a few of the sacred buildings were utterly unworthy.

Nor were the faults and shortcomings of the Church of England in 1616 confined to numerous instances of carelessness and irreverence in the performance of divine service, or to a neglect in the maintenance of the fabrics and of the fittings and furniture of the churches. In spite of the *general* conformity there were too many examples of laxness in the use of the liturgy, portions of which were, by some clergymen, habitually omitted. A lower tone, besides, in the standard of those admitted to orders was too painfully noticeable, and was ominous when the future of the Church was under the consideration of far-seeing Churchmen like Laud.

During Laud's long tenure of influence and power (dating from 1616), a period stretching over about a quarter of a century, an enormous quiet work, especially in the directions above noted, was effected in the Church of England, the results of which are still visible in the Anglican communion. Slowly but surely, under his influence and government, his spirit permeated every department of the Church. What he longed to see and to a great extent succeeded in carrying out, was increased order, more uniformity in worship, augmented reverence in the services of the sanctuary, a revival of

interest in beautiful works of art, which he looked upon as true handmaids of religion, works of art cultivated with such conspicuous success in the Middle Ages, including architecture, painting, sculpture, especially a correcter and more exalted view of the sacraments. All these things, in greater or less degree owing to his zeal, and that of his school, which men have come to call after its founder, the Laudian, became characteristic features of the Anglican Church.

The spirit in which this great Churchman worked is admirably expressed in his own clear and luminous statement of the object and purpose of his life-work, contained in the epistle dedicatory addressed to Charles I., prefixed to the relation of his celebrated conference with the Jesuit Fathers, held years before. The epistle dedicatory in question bears the date of 1639, just before the great storm broke. It may be taken as the summary of the objects and aims of his Church work. Alluding to the withering errors which had disfigured the Church and which in a large measure he had succeeded in correcting, he thus wrote: "The Houses of God could not be suffered to lie so nastily, as in some places they have done, were the true worship of God observed in them. . . . It is true the inward service of the heart is the great service of God, and no service is acceptable without it; but the external worship of God in the Sanctuary is the great witness to the world that our heart stands right in that service of God. . . . These thoughts are they and no other which made me labour as I have done for decency and an orderly settlement of the external worship of God in the Church. . . . Scarce anything hath hurt religion more in these broken times than an opinion in too many men, that because Rome had thrust some unnecessary and many superstitious ceremonies upon the Church, therefore the Reformation must have none at all."

To restore a uniform practice and a generally more reverential way of performing divine service, to establish a beautiful and winning ritual, possessing ceremonies based upon primitive antiquity, was his earnest desire. That in large measure

he succeeded in accomplishing this, will ever be his chief title to honour. And although the Church was overwhelmed and seemingly was destroyed by the same storm of revolution, in which Laud himself perished, that Church arose again after a brief period, largely purged of the errors of which Laud complained. The enduring character of his work is a great testimony to the wisdom and devotion of the great Churchman of the two first Stuart kings. Absolutely baseless is the charge which accuses Laud of being a Romaniser. This accusation, Laud himself when troubles were crowding thick upon him, indignantly refuted. But stronger far than any personal refutation is his own published account of his famous disputation with the famous Romish controversialist, the Jesuit Fisher, held when he was Bishop of St David's in 1622. The published account was a learned and exhaustive compilation, and set forth Laud's arguments on the doctrinal questions at issue between the Churches of Rome and England. It was considered at the time the weightiest book on the subject, and it still maintains its reputation in controversial literature. The great error in Laud's life was, of course, the large share he bore in Charles I.'s fatal policy of absolutism. It was one of those errors which, affecting the welfare of a people, almost rank as crimes. The only plea which his apologists can urge here was that his conduct throughout those fateful eleven years was absolutely free from self-seeking, purely unselfish, fearless of all opinion or human judgment. Those who most admire his great work for the Church, and reverence his pure and lofty character, dare not however find fault with the stern though cruel justice meted out to him on Tower Hill.

The Puritans.—In the last quarter of the sixteenth and first quarter of the seventeenth centuries a desire on the part of many serious Englishmen existed to join yet more closely the religion of the present with the religion of the past. They would not lose hold of association with sacred things—rites, ceremonies, even places which had been the solace and charm of religious men and women for ages. This desire went

beyond the thoughts and aims of the school of Ridley and Cranmer, beyond even the wide comprehensiveness of Cecil and Parker, and the first group of reformers of Elizabeth's reign. This earnest desire no doubt strongly coloured the Church policy of Whitgift and Bancroft, of Andrewes, and still more that of Laud. The prose works of Hooker and the poetry of George Herbert reflected to a certain extent these feelings. The sympathies too of the sovereigns Elizabeth, James and Charles I. were with this conservative party.

But there were not a few in the land who looked on mediævalism in religion with very different eyes. These longed on the other hand for a more pronounced Protestantism than that which had satisfied Cranmer and Ridley or the chiefs of the Elizabethan compromise. Rites, ceremonies, usages, which seemed superstitious, even idolatrous, had been allowed, as it seemed to them, to linger on in the Church of England—and were ever, as time advanced, regarded with increasing favour. *The Puritan* viewed the policy favoured by the Crown and by ecclesiastics of the school of Whitgift, Andrewes, and Laud with sorrow and dismay. This powerful section of Englishmen, although not as a rule disloyal to the English Church until political circumstances stirred up the great Rebellion, were discontented with the Established Church, and lived somewhat apart from its life. *The early Puritans*, it must be conceded, never dreamed of sweeping away Episcopacy and of substituting the formless chaos of "Presbyterianism" or the bolder, anarchic "Independent" rule in its place.

There is something very attractive in the contemporary pictures we possess of some of the earlier Puritans. They regarded religion—*their form of religion*—as the one paramount object of living, they felt that God was with them in every incident of life. They were no gloomy fanatics, but intensely religious men. The description of her husband by Lucy Hutchinson, the pictures we possess of such typical Puritans as John Hampden, the country gentleman, the story of Milton

in his early life, the description of the mother of Oliver Cromwell, give us considerable insight into the early Puritan school, and show us what was Puritanism before the causes which led to the terrible Civil War and the awful contest which followed, had embittered its professors. These pictures paint its serious thoughtfulness, its love of all things good and honourable, its struggle after pure morality, its aversion to low and degrading vice. This religious spirit which more or less affected all England and which formed the Puritan character, was largely due to the effect of the Bible on the mass of the people. The printing press—the admirable English translation—the many available editions, multiplied year by year, had popularised, so to speak, the divine writings, and for the first time in its long history the Book of Books was read and re-read in England by all sorts and conditions of men. "Theology rules in England," said the great scholar Grotius writing in 1605. Still, in spite of much that was admirable in Puritanism, it failed to suit itself to the manners and customs, to the tastes and inclinations of the people at large. Though England as a whole was in the days of Elizabeth and the first Stuarts emphatically a religious nation, the Puritan conception was too strict, too austere, too contemptuous of human weakness to be generally accepted. And as it gained in influence in the latter years of James I., and during Charles I.'s reign, it became more rigid and unbending, more fanatical in its teaching. The loyalty to the Church and Crown which characterised its earlier development, in the course of the unhappy policy pursued by King Charles I. and his advisers, was gradually changed into bitter opposition. The Church of England became, in the eyes of the Puritans, identified with absolutism, became one with a conspiracy against the cherished liberties of the people.

The story of the great Civil War is well known. It was the victory of Puritanism, but its complete victory cost Puritanism dear, for it was no sooner victorious than it split into rival factions, and in its day of power it became hopelessly divided, the one faction adopting "Presby-

terianism" as their form of religious government, a spiritual tyranny unbearable and generally hateful to the English mind; the other and rival faction choosing a religious freedom, and under the name of "Independents," developed in many cases in their ranks a wild license of practice and teaching. In the Puritan party thus strangely split into factions, bitter animosities sprang up, and its consequent disruption was more rapid than even its sudden rise to power. With the restoration of the Monarchy after the death of the leader and organiser of the great rebellion Oliver Cromwell, as we shall see, the Church of England, only fifteen years after the execution of Archbishop Laud, with the consent and joyful acquiescence of the majority of the English nation, resumed at once its ancient position as the Church of the people.

Enduring influence of Puritanism.—But although this mighty Puritanism, after its victory and rapid decline, strangely passed out of sight as an outward power and a visible force, its spirit has lived among us ever since; not as some fancy only or even principally among the nonconformist bodies, such as the Baptists and Independents, the Presbyterians and the Wesleyans. Apart from these earnest and devout Protestant sects, who, for various reasons, are unhappily not in communion with the great historic Church of our land, the spirit of Puritanism still lives and works amongst us. It is one of the powers for good to this day in the English nation. To its grave and weighty influence is owing much of the sobriety, the "religiousness," if we may use the word, of the Anglo-Saxon race. To take a few conspicuous examples: in no country of the civilised world is *woman* reverenced and respected as in England. Among no people is the sanctity of marriage and the holy purity of the home-life reverenced as with us in England. "The womanhood of modern England was nurtured in the great Protestant tradition," and the ideal of English womanhood was sung first by the Puritan poet Spenser, and somewhat later by the yet more pronounced Puritan Milton, who had before him such fair models as Lucy Hutchinson and the mother of Oliver Cromwell, and others

of the nobler Puritan ladies of her day. In *Letters* the influence of Puritanism has been especially marked. It is to England that all European nations resort, not only for masterpieces of literature, but for *pure* books in the several domains of history, poetry, and romance. To Puritanism we owe too the rigid conservatism of our English Sunday—an institution often mocked at, but in the same breath admired and envied by foreign critics.

The very Church of England is permeated by the same influences. The good sense and calm judgment which in the vast majority of our clergy leads them to adopt that historic "middle way," the precious tradition of our Church, often, for the common weal, subordinating their own predilections—this one in the direction of Mediæval symbolism and Ritual stateliness aimed at by a Laud—that one for the grave simplicity loved by a Jewel—belongs also to that spirit of lofty, loyal Puritanism which once animated the serene soul of Hampden, and which lives along the eloquent pages of the earlier verses of Milton.

The fate of the Church of England during the years of the Puritan ascendancy.—For nearly twenty years the Church of England was virtually submerged under this flood of Puritanism. The following brief notes of dates will illustrate our little account of this period of ruin and disaster—

A.D. 1640.—*The Long Parliament* (Nov. 1640) which almost immediately commenced a furious attack on the Church.

A.D. 1642-1649.—*The great Civil War*, ending with the execution of Charles I. and the general supremacy of the army of Oliver Cromwell over the Parliament and all constituted authority.

A.D. 1649-1653.—*The Commonwealth*, when the Parliament still nominally governed and issued orders to the army and its great General.

A.D. 1653-1660.—*The Protectorate*, when Oliver Cromwell was virtually Dictator until his death (Sept.)

1658, when a short period of anarchy preceded the Restoration (May) 1660.

The fierce animosity displayed by the "Long Parliament" which met at the close of 1640, before the final breach with the king, was in the first instance excited by the bitter feeling against Archbishop Laud. Laud and the Church in which he was the prominent figure were identified with the unhappy policy of absolutism pursued with such unbending determination by Charles and his ministers. In the special hateful tribunals of the Star Chamber and High Commission Laud and his friends were the most conspicuous figures.

In 1641 the persecution of the Church began. By order of the Commons commissioners were appointed to visit the counties to demolish in churches all images, altars or tables turned altar-wise, crucifixes, superstitious pictures, and the like. In 1642, *The Root and Branch Bill* as it was called, passed into law (it was not to take effect for a year). This piece of legislation destroyed the Church. It provided for the doing away with bishops and their officers, for the abolition of deans and chapters, etc.

In 1643 (June) an ordinance of Parliament summoned the *Westminster Convocation* as a substitute for Convocation. This famous assembly consisted of one hundred and twenty-one godly and learned divines and thirty laymen. It sat until 1647.

In 1644 (Feb.), as the price of Scottish assistance to the Parliament against the royal forces, *the Solemn League and Covenant* was put into force (it had been previously adopted by Parliament and the Westminster Assembly). In it the signatories solemnly pledged themselves to the extirpation of Prelacy—that is Church government by archbishops, bishops and their commissaries, deans and chapters, archdeacons, etc. Episcopacy being now completely destroyed, a form of *Presbyterian government* was established. Most of the Anglican clergy were ejected from their cures and benefices. We read of some thousands of churches being vacant. The more important of the vacated preferments were occupied by

Presbyterian divines, but a general confusion and disorder universally prevailed.

To counteract this in some measure, the Westminster Assembly, in the January of 1645, put out in the place of the English Prayer-book *a Directory* for the public worship of God in the three kingdoms (England, Ireland and Scotland). It was largely based on Calvin's form of service, and Knox's Book of Common Order. It has been described "as a Manual of directions, the minister being allowed a discretion to make the most of what was provided in the Book, or to use his own abilities to supply what he deemed needful." Among the more drastic changes which the substitution of the "Directory" for the Prayer-book inflicted upon public worship were the discontinuance of private baptism, of the sign of the Cross in baptism, of the administration of the Lord's Supper to the sick at home. All Saints' days were discarded, and all ecclesiastical vestments were forbidden. The service for the burial of the dead was omitted, no creed was recited. The Apostles' creed was, however, subsequently added to the Westminster Assembly's "Confession of Faith." Throughout, the "Directory" is conspicuous for its studied ignoring of all Catholic traditions. Besides the "Directory" for public worship the Westminster Assembly put out two catechisms, the longer occupying with Scripture proofs 157 quarto pages, the shorter 40 pages. The "Confession of Faith," which was meant to supply the place of the thirty-nine articles, was the Westminster Assembly's last public work. It was completed in 1646.

The supremacy of Presbyterianism and its tyranny in England was short-lived. As the power of the victorious army under its great General grew, the authority of the Parliament gradually vanished. Another form of Puritanism, and another sect, completely overshadowed the Presbyterians, viz., the "Independents." This sect, which soon became the dominant power, while accepting the Westminster Confession in matters of government and discipline, rejected the Presbyterian system. Each congregation was practically independent, settled its own

service, and appointed its own officers. Before the year 1646 had run its course a general toleration of all sects, even the wildest and most disorderly, became general. Only from this broad and comprehensive policy the all-powerful military leader, Oliver Cromwell, *excepted the Church of England* regarding her existence as dangerous to his plans for the government of the country. A terrible anarchy in all religious matters succeeded the swift downfall of the Presbyterians.

For some ten years after the execution of Charles I. this "Anarchy" prevailed. Most of the churches were occupied by Presbyterians or Independents, or by the smaller sects of Baptists, Fifth Monarchy-men, and other less known sectarians.

The Position of the Clergy of the Church of England between 1641-1660.—Very dreary was the condition of the clergy at this period. From the first, largely owing to the reasons above given, the Church shared the unpopularity of the Crown. In the early years of the bitter contest between the king and the Parliament, vast numbers of the clergy were deprived of their benefices, and as the Civil War proceeded, and the sphere of the king's influence in England gradually grew smaller, these numbers of "the deprived" increased. The wildest charges were at first made against these ministers of the Church, but these charges, on examination, were generally dropped, and deprivation followed simply upon ceremonial accusations. A little later even these charges were left unnoticed, and a speedier means of removal was found in the simple assertion that the ministers of the Church were well disposed to the king—"Malignants" was the term commonly used to describe them. During the period of Oliver Cromwell's supreme power in the State, various devices were arranged effectually to crush the comparatively few remaining clergymen of the ruined Church, and to prevent them from exercising any of the duties of their office. Indeed the bitter animosity of the great and generally tolerant Protector to the Church, after making all allowance for his dread of their influence naturally hostile to his policy, is a curious and unexplained phase in the character of the great

statesman and general. The sufferings of this sorely persecuted body of men in this period were, it is universally allowed, very great. The Protector's unexpected death, however, in the autumn of 1658, closed the period of trouble and confusion. In a little more than a year after the magnificent funeral of Oliver Cromwell a startling change passed over the fortunes of the fallen Church.

Havoc and ruin wrought by the Puritan Domination.—The reign of Puritanism in England was, alas, marked by irreparable mischief wrought by fanatics. Many a noble church, scarred and defaced, bears its sorrowful witness to the furious and utterly unreasoning sacrilege of that sad twenty years. The Order of the House of Commons (of 1641) ordering its commissioners to demolish images, etc., in the Churches, we have already alluded to.

This unhappy "order" was made the excuse for all sorts of wild and sacrilegious proceedings. The common people, we read, took upon themselves the "reformation" spoken of in the "order," and without authority, order, or decency, tore up and destroyed what misliked them, including all kinds of fittings of churches, sacred furniture, and books. To quote a few special instances of this widespread destruction: at *Lichfield* the lead of the roof was cast into bullets and the bells were broken up; stalls, carved work, statuary, organs, costly pavements, stained glass, exquisite monuments of the dead, were ruthlessly destroyed.

Early in 1643 "did Cromwell most miserably deface the Cathedral of *Peterborough*." At *Norwich*, the cathedral church was hideously profaned, organ pipes, vestments, books, etc., were carried in a sacrilegious procession and publicly burned in the market-place. At *Canterbury* the soldiers of the Parliament, entering the church, tore the velvet cloth from the altar, defaced the screen and tabernacle work, violated the monuments of the dead, spoiled the organs, broke down the ancient rails and seats, tore the precious arras, mangled the service books, etc.

The Return of the Church.—The discontent of the

English nation with Puritanism in its many forms no doubt was an important factor in the delirious joy which welcomed the restoration of Charles II. to the throne of his ancestors. It was something more than a feeling of relief that the imperious military despotism belonged to the past. Such a government, though wise and far-seeing in many respects, was hateful to the English mind. Although the English were especially a religious people, the form which religion had assumed under the Puritan rule was generally repulsive to the majority of Englishmen. Now we have dwelt at some length on the nobility of the aims of the earlier Puritans, and upon their struggles after a pure life. But Puritanism in its hour of success became an oppressive tyranny, its very virtues, not without some cause, became suspected of hypocrisy. When in power they insisted on the nation generally submitting to its peculiar and austere views of life. State ordinances, for instance, were issued forbidding many of the rude and somewhat rough diversions which for ages had amused the people, a rigid and even ridiculous austerity which too easily shaded into hypocrisy generally overshadowed the once "merrie England." The old feasts and holy-days were forbidden, even the sacred joyous Christmas was changed into a day of mourning and gloom. Not a few among the subjects of Oliver Cromwell resented too with a fierce indignation the Puritan temper which insisted upon destroying works of sacred art, so dear to many, which in its unreasoning fanaticism neglected and even defaced those exquisite prayer-homes, where so many generations of Englishmen had found rest and help.

The large majority of the nation, on the whole, loved the doctrines and rites of the immemorial Church of England, and regarded the teaching and practices of the lately dominant Puritan party with intense disapproval, while among the Puritans themselves a rift which could never be bridged over divided them into two opposing sects — the Presbyterians and the Independents, the one bitterly detesting the other. The Independents, again, were subdivided into various other sects generally at variance with each other, such as Baptists, Ana-

baptists, Quakers, Fifth-Monarchy men. These internal divisions hopelessly weakened their party, and when Oliver Cromwell with his great genius and iron will was gone, left them incapable of any serious resistance.

Thus when the nation, weary of the Puritans, welcomed back the heir of Charles I., the Anglican Church with scarcely an effort resumed its old position as the National Church to the intense satisfaction of the majority of Englishmen.

No Act of Parliament was necessary to repeal the various ordinances which had abolished Episcopacy and driven out the Anglican clergy. These ordinances being clearly constitutionally illegal, needed no formal repeal. At the Restoration the spiritual position of the Church was at once acknowledged.

The temper, too, of the "Convention" Parliament, as it was termed, which had recalled the king "to his own" again, did not long leave any disputed matter respecting the Church in doubt. It directly passed an Act replacing in their benefices all those Anglican incumbents who, having been illegally deprived, still survived. The intruders were removed, too, from the universities, and the old services were once more said or sung in the sadly desolated cathedrals. The estates of the bishops and chapters were at once returned to the Church, and Juxon, the aged prelate who had been a minister of Charles I., and who had stood by his master on the scaffold, was appointed to the Primacy in the room of Laud, who fifteen years before had perished on the blood-stained Tower Hill.

It was in vain that the representatives of the discredited Puritans agitated for a compromise in religious matters. The king himself was willing to mediate, but the temper of the nation was too bitter to listen to any proposals of compromise with the Puritans, and the Savoy Conference between the Anglican bishops and a number of Puritan divines came to nothing.

The "Convention" Parliament of the Restoration gave place to another Parliament, in which the House of Commons was elected in the first fervour of the Royalist reaction. This new National Assembly, known in history as the "Cavalier

Parliament," was elected according to the ancient constitutional precedents, and it sat for many years, from 1661 to 1679. Its disposition has been well described as that of a wild revolt against the Puritan past. It was ever marked with extreme zeal for Anglicanism, and an extraordinary bitterness toward all the Puritan sects.

The Act of Uniformity of 1662, and the first parting of the ways between the Church of England and the Puritans.—For the last time the Book of Common Prayer was carefully reviewed, the king issuing letters to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York desiring the Convocations of the two provinces to take the work in hand. The principal hand in this final revision was that of Bishop Cosin, the famous liturgical scholar. He had been the librarian of Andrewes and Overall, and was cognisant of the wishes of these great theologians in liturgical matters. Many minor corrections and additions were made, *but the Book as it left Convocation, and which was shortly after approved and accepted by Parliament, a.d.* 1662, *was substantially the same as the Book revised and corrected by the Elizabethan divines, known as the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI., the original work of Cranmer, Ridley, and their companions.*

Amongst the corrections and additions, a new preface, drawn up by Bishop Sanderson, was added. Forms of prayer to be used at sea were supplied, and also a form for the 30th Jan., the day of Charles I.'s death, and the 29th May, the day of Charles II.'s restoration. A few additional prayers appear in this Book, such as the prayer for Parliament, the prayer for all sorts and conditions of men, and the general thanksgiving. The absolution was to be pronounced by the *Priest* instead of by the *Minister*. The words bishops, priests and deacons were substituted for bishops, pastors and ministers of the Church. In the Communion Service the last clause respecting "Saints departed" was added to the prayer for the Church Militant. These are among the more interesting changes, but the Book virtually remained the same. No concessions were made to Puritan feeling.

The Act of Uniformity, 1662, required all ministers before August 29 of that year, to read publicly the M. and E. Prayer from the revised Prayer Book, and to declare their unfeigned consent to everything contained in the Book.[1]

The final parting of the ways between the Anglican Church and Puritans.—*A vast secession of some* 2000 (some give the smaller number of 1600) of the more earnest Puritans of the various sects above enumerated, refused to conform and gave up their positions in the universities, their benefices, etc. Many of these were men of learning and eloquence, and were distinguished for piety and devotion. This great secession was necessarily a severe blow to the cause of religion in England. The Act of Uniformity of 1662 and the rejection of the Puritan demands by the Savoy Conference was the final parting of the ways for the Churchman and the Puritan. We may sadly mourn over the loss to the Church of so many good and devout men. But what else could the theologians of our Church have done? The hour had come when the Church had full power to choose its future course. Was it for the sake of including the various sects of Puritans within its pale, for the sake of a doubtful union with the Lutherans and Calvinists of foreign lands, to give up its cherished connection with all Catholic antiquity, its unbroken continuity with the primitive church, a connection and continuity which alike Cranmer and Ridley, Parker and Jewel, Hooker and Whitgift, Andrewes and Laud, had struggled after and maintained?

Was it by ceasing to insist upon Episcopal ordination, to declare among things indifferent that sacred tradition of apostolical succession which the Elizabethan bishops had

[1] The only alterations since the passing of the Act of Uniformity, 1662, have been the removal by Royal Warrant of the forms of prayer for November 5 (Gunpowder Plot), January 20, and May 29. The form of prayer for 20th June, Accession of Queen Victoria, has been added. In 1871 a revised system of lessons was introduced, and in 1872 a special Act was passed allowing the shortening of the prescribed forms for M. and E. Prayer, save on Sundays and on certain holy days.

guarded with so much reverent care? Was it to strike out from that Book of Common Prayer, which the martyr reformers of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. had composed out of the immemorial formularies of the Catholic Church, rites and usages dear to the heart of the majority of the English people? And this, it should be remembered, and no less than this, was demanded by the Puritans at the Savoy Conference, as the price of the union of the Puritan party with the Anglican Church.

There was no alternative surely but to reject positively these demands, and the subsequent story of the Church of England has justified amply the action of 1662.

The Persecuting Acts of Parliament between 1664 and 1673 and their unhappy effect.—But, alas, largely owing to the strong Anti-Puritan feeling manifested by the "Cavalier" House of Commons, the feeling between the Church and the Puritan sects grew more and more bitter. A succession of persecuting Acts[1] were successively passed between 1664 and 1673. By these unhappy pieces of legislation the Nonconformist and the Roman Catholic were not only sternly forbidden to worship God with their peculiar rites, but were rigidly excluded from all positions in which they might serve their country. The bitter and cruel persecutions which followed the passing of these Acts had the effect of welding into one great phalanx of nonconformity, sects such as the Baptist, Independent and Presbyterian, nearly as much opposed in doctrine and practice to one another as to the Church of England, and henceforth, long after the Acts in question were repealed, these divided communions were more or less knit together in their dislike and opposition to the Church. From this period onward, Anglicanism has been confronted with nonconformity, alas ever as its enemy, rarely as its friend.

During the last ten or twelve years of Charles II.'s reign religious questions still continued to occupy a prominent place

[1] These were known as the *First and Second Conventicle Acts*, the *Test Act* and *Five Mile Act*.

in the thoughts of the people, but the persistent enmity to the Puritan sects, the sad heritage of the Civil War and the Commonwealth, gave place in great measure to a bitter hostility to Roman Catholicism—nor was this feeling baseless. The king's brother James, Duke of York (afterwards James II.) was a bigoted Roman Catholic, and the fact of his being married to a Roman Catholic Princess, naturally suggested the prospect of a Roman Catholic race of sovereigns. A close though secret alliance with powerful Roman Catholic France, which became gradually suspected, contributed to the same dread. An Exclusion Bill shutting out James and all Roman Catholics from the succession, was long agitated in and outside Parliament. Curiously enough the influence of the Church of England prevented its adoption, as the Church upheld as a doctrine, hereditary rights, which could not be interfered with even though the heir was a Romanist.

The Church after the Restoration—The Caroline Divines.—*Within* the Church, after it had become again the recognised Church of the land, much was done. Generally its restored ministrations were warmly welcomed, but only very gradually, especially in the country districts, was Church order properly restored. Much was effected in the restoration of the fabrics of the cathedrals and churches which during the period of the ascendancy of Puritanism had been, in many instances, woefully damaged, and when not deliberately injured often suffered to pass into decay, but in many instances the mischief was irreparable. Among the difficulties which met the restored Anglican communion was the lack of sufficient ministers to fill the many posts vacated by the expelled Nonconformists. But in spite of some grave hindrances to its progress and usefulness, the Church of England maintained its ancient reputation for learning owing to the presence in its ranks of a band of extraordinary learned and able leaders. No age perhaps produced so famous a group of English theologians. Amongst these eminent Caroline divines, as they are called, may be cited the names of *Bull*, the author of "the defence of the Nicene Creed," a monumental work of research and

erudition famed far beyond the limits of England, and *Pearson*, the expositor of the Creed—still a great text-book of the Church. *Jeremy Taylor*, *Cosin*, *Barrow*, *Ken*, *Stillingfleet*, *South* and *Sanderson* are household words among us to this day. *Hammond*, one of the most distinguished of them all, died just before his consecration as Bishop of Worcester in the first days of the reign, but his writings powerfully influenced the restored Church.

A brief summary of the "Church" progress in the reign of Charles II.—The Stuart King died very suddenly early in 1685. The expressions of joy and contentment which on the Restoration in 1660-1 had welcomed on the part of the majority of the people the re-establishment of the Church in its old place of power and influence in the nation, showed how deep a lodgment it possessed in the hearts of the people. Puritanism, though by no means ceasing to be a great force in the religious life of the country, had through its internal divisions, and especially owing to the ill-advised and unhappy use it had made of its temporary political victory, largely lost its influence, and was no longer a source of danger to the Church of England. Whilst, however, the work and teaching of the great Caroline divines of the Anglican communion had done much to deepen and broaden its already commanding influence, a wrong and mistaken policy of persecution had widened the rift which existed between Anglicanism and Puritanism, and in after years bore bitter fruit in the unhappy and enduring divisions between the Church of England and the Nonconformist congregations.

James II. attempts to re-introduce Romanism.—A strange interlude in the history of the Church must be sketched, when, for a brief period, the Church and the Puritans joined hands in their resistance to a common foe. James II., the brother of the late king, was a bigoted Romanist, and he curiously thought by an exercise of his royal prerogative he could change the views and settled opinions of the English people, and by a high-handed series of acts re-introduce Roman-Catholicism into England.

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James II. began his reign by partially dispensing with the provisions of the "Test Act" of 1673, and replied to a remonstrance of the "Commons" by a prorogation of Parliament.

He proceeded with his mistaken and foolish policy by appointing to his Privy Council certain well-known Roman Catholic peers, by establishing colonies of Jesuits, Benedictines, Franciscans, and Carmelites in London, and by the reconstitution of the old and hated Court of High Commission, to which tribunal he entrusted great and undefined powers.

So rash and impudent were the king's measures that even Rome and Spain remonstrated with him on the danger of his policy. In 1687 James II. published his famous "Declaration of Indulgence," in this by a dispensing power which he claimed as belonging to the Crown, he swept away by his own sovereign authority, a long series of statutes suspending all penal laws against Nonconformists, authorising all sects, including Roman Catholics, to perform their worship according to their peculiar rites and uses. Nor was the king content with this policy of general toleration. In the Universities, particularly at Oxford, he showed that it was his intention at once to degrade the Church of England from its natural position as the established Church of the nation and to substitute in its place the Roman Catholic Communion; and at once proceeded to change the ancient foundation of University College into a Roman Catholic Seminary, and to appropriate for his co-religionists the great foundation of Magdalen College. These Acts of the king, succeeding each other with startling rapidity, effectually lost for him the support of the Church of England, whose devotion to the House of Stuart had been proverbial.

The Declaration of Indulgence which was ordered to be published in all the churches of the kingdom, was the formal object of the famous bishops' remonstrance to the king.

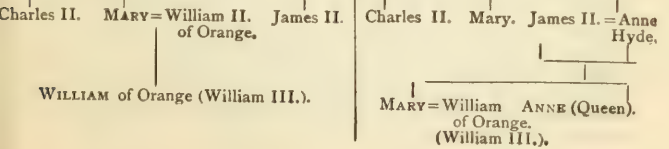
Imprisonment and Trial of the Remonstrating Bishops—Dethronement of the King, and arrival of the Prince of Orange.—With the bishops, seven of whom in person approached the king, while others supported

their resistance, the leading Nonconformists, the heads of the old Puritan party, associated themselves. The king refused to yield, and the bishops were sent to the Tower, and speedily brought to trial, and, amidst popular acclamations, were acquitted.

James II. now found himself virtually alone, Lords and Commons were alike in bitter opposition to his Government. He had deeply affronted all parties, all sects, save the small phalanx of Romanists. Above all he had quarrelled with the Anglican Communion, ever the staunch supporters of his royal House. The events which followed, known as the bloodless Revolution of 1688-9, were crowded into the short space of a few months. The invitation from the English leaders of different parties was accepted by William of Orange, the Dutch Stadtholder, who had married King James' eldest daughter Mary. The army too deserted the unpopular Roman Catholic King, who fled to France; and the throne thus vacated was offered to the Prince and Princess of Orange[1] as joint sovereigns.

The Church of England in the days of William II. and Mary.—The great statesman and general who with general acclamation became King of England in 1689, although a Calvinist by training and association, accepted Episcopacy as a lawful and reasonable form of Church government, and during his just strong rule the established Anglican Communion had no cause for complaint. The "Toleration" Act, which, owing to his influence, was gener-

[1] The Connection of William of Orange and his wife Mary with the Stuart Dynasty:



ally accepted, was a righteous measure, and gave to Puritan dissenters the legal right to worship publicly, on complying with certain not very onerous conditions. Roman Catholics and Unitarians were however excluded. The "Toleration" Act really assisted the Church, as it removed from all the Puritan sects most, if not the whole, of the causes which placed them in active hostility to the Anglican Communion. An attempt at union between the Puritans and Anglicans, which was strongly favoured by William III. and by some of his advisers, however failed. A Comprehension or Union Bill was drafted, but although it involved certain concessions on the part of the Puritans, required too much on the part of the Church, and would seriously have changed the character of the Elizabethan Settlement. Seeing the serious nature of the opposition it excited, the king gave up the idea.

The Non-Jurors.—A graver and unlooked for danger, an outcome of the bloodless Revolution of 1688-9, threatened the Church. A number of earnest and devout men among the bishops and clergy, among whom were the Primate Sancroft and the revered Dr Ken, Bishop of Bath and Wells, shrank from taking a fresh oath of allegiance to William and Mary while James was still living. They considered the office of King so indelible that no exercise of Parliamentary authority could touch it. They acknowledged that by his deliberate breaking of the laws, James II. had forfeited the right to rule, but they clung to the theory of a regency which should continue during his life-time. Nine bishops therefore refused the new oath of allegiance. They were dealt with very gently; three died before the term of grace allowed them expired, but six submitted to be deprived of their sees, and about 400 beneficed clergy were also ejected from their positions. This was a severe loss to the Church, for these Non-Jurors as a body were men distinguished for their learning and piety. Three of these deprived bishops chose, by consecrating others to the Episcopate, to continue the schism, which fortunately took no firm root, and though it continued a long time, finally died out.

The Latitudinarians.—Under the powerful protection of Court favour, after 1688, arose a party in the Church of England which long influenced much of her teaching. The title of "Latitudinarians" given to this section of Churchmen inaccurately designates men, some of whom were among the most distinguished ecclesiastics of that day, such, for instance, as Burnet, Tillotson, Tenison, and Stillingfleet. It would indeed be unjust to charge Burnet with indifference, or Tillotson with want of orthodoxy. They advocated as a party, in matters of belief and practice, within certain limits, considerable latitude, hence their name. They were, it is clear, less definite in their sacramental doctrine than were the recognised Anglican leaders, but they erred rather by their silence than by their direct teaching. These men shared with King William a great longing after ecclesiastical comprehension and union, and for some years the chief posts in the hierarchy were filled with men sympathising with their peculiar views.

The Inner Life of the Church—End of Seventeenth and Early Years of Eighteenth Century.—A rare group of distinguished scholars and divines, with a few devoted laymen, cast a lustre upon the Church in the reigns of William and his sister-in-law and successor Queen Anne—roughly speaking, between the years 1688 and 1714, and their work, literary as well as practical, has left an enduring mark upon the national life.

It is a sorrowful fact, that after the Restoration, a reaction following upon the exaggerated and somewhat hypocritical Puritan severity of life, set in, and a general dissoluteness in the morals of society disgraced the national life during the reign of the Stuart kings, Charles and James. To check this fatal and too general laxity, "Societies for the Reformation of Manners" were formed as early as 1678. Conspicuous among the founders and supporters of these was *Robert Nelson* and his friends. From this band of true Churchmen sprang those companies which have since done such good and useful religious work in the country, "The Societies for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and for the Propagation of the

Gospel in Foreign Parts," the former constituted formally in 1699, the latter in 1701. Among this bright band of toilers for God, who so powerfully influenced English life at this period, must be reckoned such men as the saintly *Ken*, the non-juring bishop, known to uncounted thousands as the writer of the beautiful morning and evening hymns;[1] *Dodwell*, the learned Camden professor of history; *Hickes*, the non-juring Dean of Worcester, also a renowned scholar; *Kettlewell*, the fellow-writer with Nelson of the "Festivals and Fasts"; *Beveridge*, *Sharp*, and before all perhaps *George Bull* already alluded to.

A distinct revival of Church life was, largely owing to this famous group, perceptible in a vast number of centres. The administration of the Holy Communion in churches became more frequent. In not a few of the more prominent churches, especially in London, daily service was said, and a more reverent observance of the Eucharist became general. Under their influence too, the schools for the poor, known as "Charity Schools," sprang up in various places—in eight years as many as 500 of these were founded. But this religious revival, so marked in the last decade of the seventeenth and in the earlier years of the eighteenth centuries, gradually faded away as that group of eminent men, some of whose names we have just mentioned, passed away, leaving no successors.

Period of Deadness in the Church.—Very early in Queen Anne's reign (1702-1714), the causes which led to the stagnation in the spiritual life of the Church, which was so painfully marked after the first few years of the century (the eighteenth) began to operate. A spirit of unrest in Convocation contributed largely to this result. In the Lower House a strong feeling existed of dislike to Nonconformity, and a wish to make things intolerable to the successors of the old Puritan party. The Upper House of Convocation, with its majority of *Latitudinarian* bishops, resisted this, the Queen casting her influence against the party of Toleration. The

[1] The well-known hymns beginning with "Awake my Soul," and "Glory to Thee my God this Night."

disputes between the two Houses grew so bitter that Anne, in spite of her High Church [1] tendencies, was induced to sanction an indefinite prorogation of the Lower House by Archbishop Tenison. As might have been expected, many of the clergy were infected by this spirit of bitterness, which gradually grew in intensity in Parliament and in Convocation, and the work of the Church was gravely injured in consequence.

The group of eminent men too of whom we have been lately speaking who were distinguished, some for their great theological scholarship, others for their zeal for practical Christian work, and who inspired the Church with high thoughts and noble purpose, passed away in quick succession between the years 1694 and 1711. Queen Anne, ever a devoted friend to the Church, died in 1714, and Archbishop Tenison in the following year.

Then followed a most disappointing time, which lasted until the first half of the eighteenth century had run its course. It was a period of barren controversies, of speculations utterly unpractical. These exercised upon the Church a baleful and paralysing influence, absorbing interest and consuming time. The first group of these disputes is known as the "Deistical Controversy." The effect of these speculative questions on the clergy of the establishment was saddening. Practical subjects concerning faith and life were largely neglected in their teaching, to the sore detriment of all good and useful work. A general falling away in religious earnestness and practical work in the Church is generally acknowledged as the feature of that somewhat dreary and disappointing period.

Another controversy of the eighteenth century, which had less immediate, but more far-reaching consequences than the

[1] The famous party-words *High Church* and *Low Church* first appeared in the reign of William III. and Mary. They were first applied to *Latitudinarians*, who were termed *Low Churchmen* in contradiction to the *High Anglican* School. But such an appellation is misleading, for the *Evangelicals* of a later period, to whom the name of *Low Churchmen* is usually appropriated, belong to a very different school of thought from that of the *Latitudinarians* of William III. and Anne.

"Deistical Controversy," was known by the name of the "Trinitarian" disputes.

The Trinitarian "questioning" of the eighteenth century was an old foe with a somewhat new face. In the far back days of the fourth century the adversaries of the Trinitarians were generally known as Arians.[1] In one form or other the principal tenet of these adversaries of the Catholic faith was the denial of the Saviour's Godhead. It was a widespread heresy, and occasionally coloured the "Christianity" of whole nations. It lived all through the Middle Ages, but we hear little of this heresy, for Mediæval Christianity was mainly occupied with other questions. This school of thought, however, was never stamped out, and in the latter years of the seventeenth and during the first half of the eighteenth centuries the question was agitated again in England.

One important result, however, can be traced to these dry and barren controversies which too much occupied the Church in this period. Among the masses of controversial literature which flooded the country, certain masterpieces of literature were produced which remain still in the treasure-house of religious learning: the "Analogy of Religion, natural and revealed," of Bishop Butler; the great and profound work of Bishop Bull alluded to above, put out at the close of the seventeenth century, when the question had already begun to attract public attention, and the monumental works of Waterland published in the course of the first thirty or forty years of the eighteenth century.

Among the Protestant Nonconformist bodies in England and on the Continent, this deadly heresy with its insidious arguments, has been, and still is, a greater source of danger than among Anglicans. The Liturgy of the Church of England, with its constantly repeated Catholic creed, its prayers, and above all, its solemn Litany, is an ever present safeguard against loose and indefinite expressions of worship.

Other causes too were at work which contributed to the

[1] So named from a famous popular teacher of heresy, Arius, who lived in the earlier part of the fourth century.

deadness of this period. For a long period there was a dearth of distinguished practical Churchmen. The profound scholars we have alluded to were rather toilers for God in the study than in the broad fields of practical life. No one of the type of Latimer, of Parker, of Jewel, of Andrewes, of Laud, or of Ken arose in the Church to fire men's hearts, or to guide them along the many paths of usefulness and practical works of love and charity. Then too for the first time, save during the troubles of the Civil War, the voice of the Church expressed through Convocation was hushed. The arbitrary closing of Convocation has been recorded above. In this rapid survey of the causes of deadness in the Church, the policy of the government of the day must be noticed. For some forty or fifty years Sir Robert Walpole was a great influence in the Council of State; for twenty years of this period he was supreme—*the* Minister of the Crown. It may be said without exaggeration that the policy of this able, and in many respects useful and devoted servant of the State, discouraged, if it did not actively oppose all religious activity.

There was much too in the *inner* life of the Church that urgently called for the awakening hand of the reformer. On the one hand the dread of Romanism, always present in England, and recently stirred up by the tyrannical acts of James II., induced many of the clergy to avoid anything which might savour of the ritual of Rome. Symbolism of all kinds, beautiful and elaborate services, were unpopular. On the other hand, anything in divine worship and teaching which suggested Puritanism was disliked. Fervid and impassioned sermons were avoided as partaking too much of the kind of religion in vogue amongst the Nonconformist bodies. The result was too often a bald, unlovely service, followed by a dry, dull sermon, bearing too much on the abstruse controversies of the day, and dealing too little with the questions of every-day life. A great awakening, however, was at hand.

Wesley, Whitefield, and the Methodists.—The great religious revival began in this wise: a little group of undergraduates at Oxford, grieved at the careless lax life

around them, used to meet together for the purpose of mutual edification. They were quite unknown in 1729, but a few years later the names of two or three of them rang through England and her colonies as the leaders of a new and widely influential school of thought. The most prominent of the little Oxford band were John Wesley, his brother Charles, and their friend George Whitefield. Their strict lives, their regular attendance at St Mary's to receive the Holy Communion, attracted attention. They were called, partly in derision, "The Holy Club" or "the Godly Club," and finally the sobriquet was attached to them which afterwards became so famous, "The Methodists," from their careful and strict lives, and the *methodical* observance of their religious duties. John subsequently became a Fellow of Lincoln College. In 1735 the little Oxford society was broken up. John Wesley went to Georgia, across the Atlantic, returning in 1738. He was attracted by the religious earnestness of the *Moravians*,[1] and though he subsequently parted company with them, much of what he learned in their society remained among the doctrinal teaching peculiar to the "Methodists."

Very rapidly was the framework of a new Methodist (or Wesleyan) organisation formed—there was no formal separation from the Anglican Church, but much irregular evangelisation was undertaken. The company of Wesley grew rapidly. Whitefield, one of the original little Oxford company, was soon distinguished far and wide as a preacher. He introduced "Field-preaching," which became a powerful engine in their work. In 1740-1 Wesley and Whitefield parted company, Whitefield's teaching being strongly coloured with Calvinism, which was repugnant to Wesley. The followers of Whitefield became known as Calvinistic Methodists. Wesley too

[1] The *Moravians* traced their origin back to John Huss. The Moravian Society endeavoured to lead a Christian life after the primitive model, and avoiding controversy, invited all Protestant sects to join them, without giving up their distinctive tenets. The Moravians were ever earnest and devoted missionaries.

was a powerful and arousing preacher. For a long period he professed loyalty to the Church of England, holding the doctrines taught in the Thirty-nine Articles and the Homilies, and maintaining that the Anglican Communion was nearer the Scriptural plan than any other Church in Europe. Indeed, he did not formally depart from the Church until 1784, when he ordained superintendents and elders for his congregations in America. This act, which finally determined the separation of the Methodists from the Church, was bitterly regretted by his brother Charles, who in the now vast community was only second in influence to his brother John.

But between 1740 and 1784, as the Methodist movement gathered strength, and increased in numbers and in influence, Wesley acted, it must be confessed, quite independently of all parochial and Episcopal authority, sending out his mission preachers into all parts of England, and building his many chapels for his services. The Methodist movement in the second half of the century with wonderful power stirred up the English people.

The Church, as we have seen, was strangely and sadly lethargic at this period. Vast numbers in great centres of population as well as in rural districts were influenced, and changed their lives and conversation at the bidding of these new and fervent missionaries.[1] Wesley and his disciples were preachers "par excellence," and their fervid and impassioned oratory was a new thing in England. First, of course, among the band of Evangelists was Whitefield, who, with his burning zeal and unrivalled power as an orator, ranks as perhaps the most influential preacher ever heard among the English people.

Although an illustrious group of assistants, both in the Church of England and outside its pale, took up and developed the "Methodist" work, it is not too much to say that the religious revival of the second half of the

[1] The story of the rapid and amazing spread of Methodism in the Colonies beyond the sea (where Whitefield died) does not belong to this brief manual.

eighteenth century, which has produced such remarkable results, was really due to the "two" famous founders of the sect. Nor would the one have brought about the great revival without the other. Wesley, able and fervent though he was, would never without Whitefield have kindled the enthusiasm of the masses. Whitefield with all his burning zeal and matchless power as an orator, possessed few organising gifts. His mighty influence would have died with him without the strange power of welding congregations together which belonged to Wesley. The eighteen thousand sermons attributed to Whitefield, many of them preached to audiences numbering in many instances their thousands, would, had it not been for Wesley's power as a great organiser, have been speedily forgotten.

The work of the two great ones in a marvellous way affected the religious history of England. "Although the career of the elder Pitt, and the splendid victories by land and sea that were won during his ministry, form unquestionably the most dazzling episode in the reign of George II., they must yield in real importance to that religious revolution which shortly before had been begun in England owing to the preaching of the Wesleys and of Whitefield. The creation of a powerful and active sect, extending over both hemispheres, and numbering many millions of souls, was but one of its consequences. It also exercised a profound and lasting influence upon the spirit of the Established Church, upon the amount and distribution of the moral forces of the nation, and even upon the course of its political history."[1]

The Evangelical Revival in the Church of England.—The effect of the Evangelical Revival in England under the leadership of Whitefield and the two Wesleys, was incontestably very great. Gradually in spite of the distrust which this novel presentment of Christianity awoke in the minds of many of the clergy, the doctrine and teaching of the Methodists gained ground in the Church of England itself. Many devout men in the Church recognised that a new and

[1] Lecky, "History of England in the Eighteenth Century," chap. ix.

living piety was being kindled among the people. No serious fault could be found with their field-preaching, the great popular engine of the movement.

The utmost that could for a long time be urged against them was a loose submission to the discipline of the Established Church; and when far on in the century the parting of Methodism from Anglicanism became a recognised necessity, the new influence had permeated the Church far and wide. This was, however, very gradual; in 1748, Romaine, one of the earliest of the Anglicans who became in earnest a disciple of Wesley's school of thought, said he could only reckon up six or seven Evangelical clergymen in England. In forty years there were more than 500 closely attached to the Evangelical party.

But although the Church was gradually invigorated by the Evangelical Revival, there was for many years a bitter opposition to the movement. The sleepy condition into which religion had sunk, to a certain extent satisfied the people. There was no enthusiasm, zeal of any kind was sneered at. The policy of Walpole, so long the minister, had pressed like a dead hand upon all religious enterprises. Convocation too, silenced as it was, was unable to initiate any great departure in work at home or abroad. All seemed to acquiesce in this state of stagnation. Thus when Methodism began about the middle of the century to make its existence felt, with its restless and somewhat disturbing enthusiasm, no wonder that it aroused, far and wide, feelings of fierce hostility.

Among the *cultured classes* for years the Methodist was an unpopular person; he was keenly satirised in the popular literature of the age, in poetry as in prose. The attitude of the more thoughtful among the hierarchy of the Church during the second half of the century, although distinctly hostile to the "movement," yet was evidently affected by the wave of earnestness set in motion by the new powerful evangelical preaching and teaching. But before the sands of the hour-glass of the eighteenth century had run out, the "Methodist," or as they were later commonly called, the

Evangelical doctrines had thoroughly permeated the teaching of a considerable portion of the Established Church. More or less every pulpit in England was affected by them, even though the pulpit was occupied by one who had no apparent sympathy with the new departure; while the Evangelical party, properly so called, who openly professed their zeal for the great truths so long dormant in all public teaching, "though still a minority, had become a large and influential section of the English Church."

Defects of the Evangelicals.—In this little sketch of this great revival it is only just to dwell for a moment on the *defects* of the "movement" which, on the whole, worked so beneficent a change in the Church, grown, alas, lethargic and somewhat cold. The Evangelical cared little or nothing for those things which, in the opinion of so many earnest souls, contribute not a little to the reverent beauty of divine worship. In his eyes architecture and painting were things of no moment; to him art was no handmaid to religion; and symbolism, however beautiful and touching, found no place in the bare and ugly churches and chapels of the Evangelical revival, and was absent altogether from their plain and studiedly simple services. In many respects, without meaning it, they reproduced the Puritan exaggerations of simplicity and plainness.

There was, however, a still greater defect in their system. The Evangelical failed to give that prominence in his teaching to the blessed Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper which the Catholic Church has been ever careful to press home to men. It was *one side*, and one side only, of true Church teaching which they elected to dwell on, and that they did it with mighty power and intense conviction is indisputable. They placarded, so to speak, the image of "the Crucified" before the dulled eyes of men, they graved the image of the one Sacred Figure upon the world-filled hearts of tens of thousands of the people, reminding England at an hour when her people seemed in danger of forgetting the great truth altogether, that Christ was still present among them, a mighty power ready, able, willing to comfort, to strengthen and to

save. This was the debt our Church and country owes to the leaders of the Evangelical Revival, and the memory of that great debt must never—will never—be forgotten.

Fruits of the Evangelical Revival.—While, however, the great Evangelical Revival of the second half of the eighteenth century was coldly looked on by the popular writers of the age and by the hierarchy of the Church, and this attitude was generally adopted by the Government of the day and by the majority in the upper ranks of society, there were some distinguished exceptions. Among these the influential coterie, known as the "Clapham Sect," under the leadership of William Wilberforce, is especially notable. The members of this small but powerful phalanx of earnest men have been well described as "the sons by natural or spiritual birth of men who in the earlier days of Methodism had shaken off the lethargy in which till then the Church of England had been for many years entranced."

Several of those great religious societies which are at once the glory and strength of religious England were the result of the deliberations and wise liberality of these good men. We would instance the Church Missionary Society founded in 1799, although the famous title was not adopted until 1812, and the British and Foreign Bible Society, which began its operations as early as 1787, although the celebrated association, which has since become of world-wide notoriety, was only formally constituted some sixteen or seventeen years later, in the very early years of the nineteenth century.

The marvellous conception of the Sunday School, now one of the most powerful and effective agencies in the Church of England, as well as among Nonconformist communions, sprang too from the Evangelical Revival, the first of this now mighty net-work of religious educational agencies being started in Gloucester by Robert Raikes, a loyal member of the Church of England in 1781.[1]

[1] The Sunday School of the writer of this little Manual of Church History during his ten years' incumbency of St Pancras, London—to give an example of a great Sunday school of the Church of England—numbered about *three thousand scholars and teachers*.

No public work perhaps in modern days has made an impression so deep on the public mind, or has had indirectly more far-reaching consequences than the long and finally successful labours of William Wilberforce and his coadjutors of the "Clapham Sect" for the abolition of the disgraceful slave trade, that curse which has weighed so heavily on the Greater Britain beyond the seas. It was in 1789 that the great Evangelical Wilberforce first publicly proposed in the House of Commons the abolition of the slave trade.

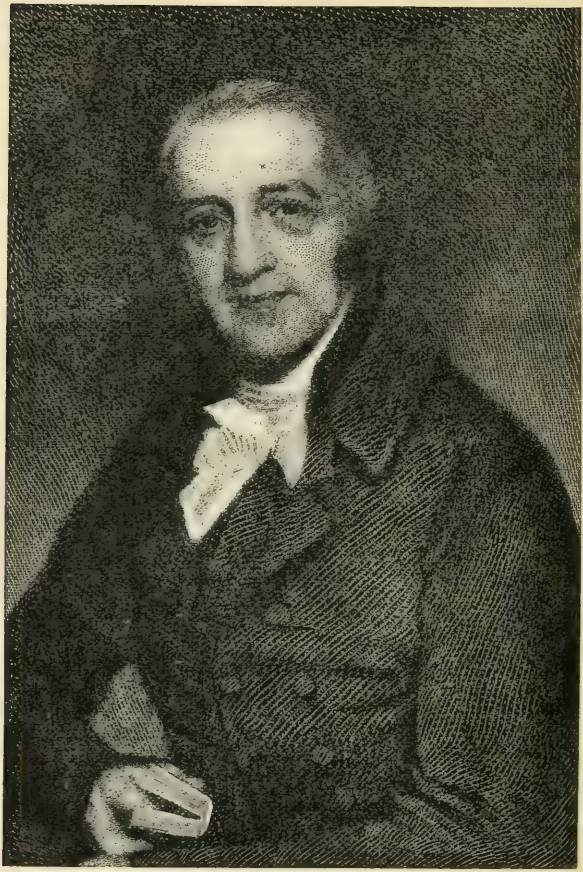
After a bitter struggle of some twenty years Wilberforce triumphed, and "slavery," the greatest blot on Christianity as far as England was concerned, mainly owing to the exertions of the Evangelical party and its devoted leader, was for ever wiped out.

In the early years of the nineteenth century.—The nineteenth century opened with Church life renewed and strengthened by the Evangelical Revival. The Revival had touched many centres, but its influence was rather calculated to influence individuals and congregations than the corporate life of the Church. Then too the "times" were unfavourable to any marked development of religious activity. For the first fifteen years of the century the one absorbing interest was the great Continental War. During this period and in the years which immediately followed the Peace—we may speak of "light alternating with shadow" in Church affairs—for while it would be unjust to accuse the Church generally of neglect and indifference, while it is clear that the state of languor and torpor, so painfully noticeable in the first half of the eighteenth century, no longer existed save in certain localities; it is clear that many grave abuses still existed, that much coldness and deadness still remained untouched, that comparatively speaking there was little real enthusiasm. There was too, without doubt, not a little slovenliness and want of care and reverence in the Church services, especially in the more remote districts. On the whole, however, in this period, there was considerable work done and gradual progress made by the Church of England.

The High Church.—For many years of the century (the nineteenth), although the High Church party were the least influential, and certainly possessed less spiritual force in the country than the sister school of Evangelicals, although no very distinguished men arose in their ranks, yet there was a long roll of quiet earnest men among them who were staunchly faithful to the great tradition of their historic party, and who steadily set themselves to do their Master's work among us.

During the first twenty-five or thirty years of this century, the High Churchmen by no means lacked fairly able and competent witnesses, but as a party they confessedly failed to exercise anything like a powerful influence over the people. They had done much undoubtedly; they had vastly increased the foreign mission work of the Church, they had created an ever broadening network of educational agencies which embraced a large proportion of the poorest of the population. They had done much too to spread abroad pure and healthy literature, but still they had not to any great extent found their way to the hearts of the people. No soul-stirring preachers had arisen among them, no popular writers had appeared in their ranks, no great philanthropist had appeared with his enthusiasm to kindle men's hearts.

Simeon and the Evangelicals.—On the other hand, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and for many of its earlier eventful years, the Evangelicals were singularly fortunate in the possession of a quiet leader of rare gifts. In the University of Cambridge, Charles Simeon, a young fellow of King's, in the last years of the eighteenth century had been appointed to the incumbency of a Cambridge town church (Trinity). Simeon, at the outset of his eventful ministry, had come under the influence of several of the more prominent leaders of the Evangelicals, and had determined to consecrate his rare and peculiar powers to the preaching of what he was intensely persuaded was the truth. For some ten years in Cambridge, where the standard of life was sadly low, and often degraded, he was the object of a persecution almost



CHARLES SIMEON.
(*After the Painting by Sir William Beechey.*)

bitter in its character; but he lived it down, and before the year 1800 the town and the great University had awakened to the knowledge that a man of God in the truest sense "was passing by them continually." For nearly forty years he preached unweariedly to vast congregations, teaching besides in the stillness of his student's room at King's.

The influence exercised by the great Evangelical master was incalculable. During that prolonged period, successive generations of undergraduates in turn listened to Simeon's words and counsels, and after their three years' residence went out into the busy world, some as laymen, more as clergymen bearing the impress of the teaching of their loved master. To take one department of his varied influence, his power in inspiring and guiding men destined for the foreign mission field, was immense. Not a few of the leading missionaries of that great Society the C.M.S. which he loved so well, were Simeon's pupils. But his work at Cambridge, great and far-reaching though it was, by no means represented the life-labours of the famous Cambridge Evangelical. He was, during his long career, ever a prominent figure in the societies and associations, and they were not a few, connected with the Evangelical party. And when he fell asleep in 1836, in that vast mixed crowd, which only such a centre as Cambridge could send forth, one thought was common to all as they stood by Simeon's grave—how the mightiest influence which had inspired Cambridge life for nearly half a century, had passed out of their midst.

The Oxford Movement—The Beginnings.—In the late evening of Simeon's life, when the great Evangelical master's work was well-nigh done, a grave peril for a brief space threatened the Church of England.

For some time it had seemed that the Church, in spite of much quiet efficient work done by both the great parties, was losing its hold upon the affections of the people of England. The enormous and rapid growth of the population[1] of the

[1] This will be best understood by a glance at the following figures. In the days of Queen Elizabeth about 4,000,000 would be the total

country was one great reason of this decline, the old machinery of the Church being totally inadequate to cope with the sudden and vast increase in the numbers of the people. In the great centres of population the ministrations of the Church failed to reach and to touch the masses so enormously multiplied. Burning political questions too were in the air. The Reform Bill especially threw a vast accession of power into the hands of those classes which at that juncture were indifferent, if not positively hostile, to the Church, which was considered, on the whole, unfriendly to the popular measure. The feeling too of the Government of the day was out of sympathy with the Church of England, which as an establishment, in the opinion of many, was even threatened. At all events the interference of Parliament in the direction of Legislation which would destroy the whole system of the National Church, was thought imminent. The period we are speaking of was the year 1833. The Temper of the Legislation, which without any ecclesiastical sanction, lately had summarily suppressed ten of the Irish sees, gave indeed grave cause for these fears.

Now a little group of men trained at Oxford were conscious that there existed among the Laity, as well as in the ranks of the clergy of the Church of England, a great historic Church-party, possibly somewhat lethargic, although at heart loyal. Could not this section of Churchmen be aroused to a sense of the Church's danger and of their own responsibility? The chief of this group was John Keble, in 1833 a plain country clergyman, but not long before a famous Oxford tutor; Keble was a profound scholar and a poet[1] of acknowledged reputation. With Keble were associated some two or three of his

of the population. In 1702 (Queen Anne) it had grown to 5,000,000. In 1750 (George II.) to 6,000,000, in 1803 to about 9,000,000. But it is *this* nineteenth century which has witnessed the enormous rise. In England (*only*) at its close, 30,000,000 would scarcely represent the numbers.

[1] Keble is known wherever the English tongue is spoken or read as the author of the "Christian Year." No description of this volume so widely read and loved is necessary.

favourite pupils. *R. H. Froude*, a brilliant though somewhat impulsive thinker and student (he was an elder brother of the subsequently famous historian), *Isaac Williams*, scholar, theologian, and poet, and *Charles Marriott*, a deeply read student and an unwearied worker. Two somewhat older men, Hugh James Rose, and William (afterwards Sir William) Palmer, joined the little coterie. Rose was a Cambridge man already prominent as a preacher and parish priest, of great learning and piety, and was well known and honoured by all the more weighty members of the High Church party. Palmer was a very learned scholar of high repute in Oxford circles. The last of this group and perhaps the most famous was a tutor of Oriel College, the preacher "par excellence" of Oxford, and far more than a preacher, as was manifest in after days, a theologian and historian of the highest rank.

By these men a weighty address was formulated to the Primate, temperate in its language, but firmly resolute in its expressed determination to maintain inviolate the doctrines, services and discipline of the Church of England, condemning sternly that restless desire of change which would rashly innovate in spiritual matters. This weighty paper bore the signatures of 7000 *of the clergy*, and another *lay* address immediately followed, signed by 230,000 *heads of families*.

The effect on the country of these important popular demonstrations was magical. To use the words of one of the ablest of the Defenders of the Church, "From every part of England, in every town and city, there arose a united, strong, emphatic declaration of loyalty to the Church of England." Its enemies were thus silenced—assurances of devotion and fidelity to the Church of their fathers, and resolutions to support its rites and doctrines flowed in from all parts of the kingdom. Petitions in support of the Church poured into the House of Commons; and in the late spring of 1834 King William IV. addressed the prelates of England, assuring them of his devoted affection to the Church, and of his firm intention to maintain its doctrines. Churchmanship was thus *evoked* not *created*, and the danger, which

men feared was threatening the Establishment had passed away.

The literary side of the Oxford Movement.—Thus the curtain fell on the first act. It had been a marked success. But the Oxford Company of Friends were persuaded that more was needed than a mere arousing of the Church to the sense of its power and weight in the nation; it must be awakened to a sense of its privileges and responsibilities. Hence the putting out of the "Tracts for the Times." These famous papers, ninety in number, were at first short (three or four pages only). Of the first seventeen, Newman was principally responsible for eight, Keble for two, one of which dealt with the weighty question of the Apostolical succession. After a time the Company of the "Tractarians," to give them the famous name by which they are popularly known, was enormously strengthened by the adhesion of the Hebrew Professor, Dr Pusey, who, in this comparatively early stage of his historic career, had already acquired at Oxford the reputation of being one of the profoundest scholars and theologians in his University. From the time of Pusey's throwing in his lot with the Tractarians, the character of the tracts was changed. From being short incisive little papers, pungent leaflets, they became elaborate and even lengthy essays or dispositions on theological doctrines, historical as well as doctrinal.

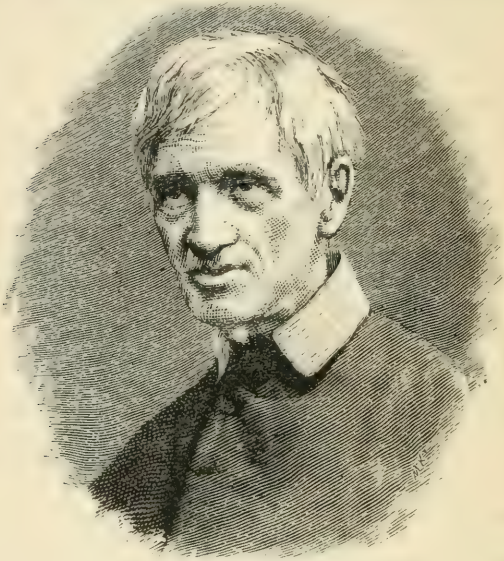
It was Dr Pusey's influence too which suggested and, indeed, carried out the other great literary venture of the "Movement" known as the "Library of the Fathers." To this massive work, from all serious members of the Church, from the Evangelical as well as from the High Church party unstinting praise must be given.[1] Other important publications, cognate to patriotic study, have enriched the Christian

[1] Of this valuable "Library of the Fatners" forty massive well-printed tomes have been published, translated into clear readable English. The issue closed in 1885 Forty-six years had passed since Dr Pusey planned and commenced this really great undertaking Only four volumes more were published after he had passed away

storehouse open to the general theological student. Weighty publications which may be said to have sprung from the great undertaking of Dr Pusey, such as the Ante-Nicene Christian Library, in twenty-three volumes, comprising translations into English of the best part of the extant writers of the Fathers down to A.D. 325, the date of the Council of Nice. There had been no lack of men deeply versed in this important sacred literature in the days of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., and later not a few of the Elizabethan and Stuart divines were as well read in the Fathers of the Catholic Church as any theologians which Rome and her reformed learned orders could boast of. But, owing to various causes, as the eighteenth century advanced, the study of patristic literature became gradually neglected in England. In the Evangelical Revival little use was made of this important branch of Christian study. Milner alone of the Evangelical revivalists seems to have possessed any deep knowledge of the writings of the Fathers. It is absolutely certain that this study was practically ignored in the Church of England in the days which immediately preceded the rise of the Oxford school.

The Oxford Movement — The beginning of Troubles.—The appointment by the Government of Dr Hampden in 1836 to the important post of Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford was regarded as a grave insult by many, especially by the High Church party. Hampden had taken a prominent part in the discussion to admit Dissenters into the University without previous subscription to "the Articles," and the arguments he had advanced in support of the proposition had seriously damaged his reputation for Catholic Orthodoxy. Influential petitions were presented to the Crown against the appointment, but were disregarded. Angry discussions followed, and the "Tractarians" were regarded as leading the opposition to Dr Hampden. From this time onward, bitter enmity existed between Dr Hampden and his numerous friends, and the leaders of the Tractarians. Time went on, the "Tracts" kept appearing at intervals, and articles on the points specially urged by the

New Oxford School were written in the largely read periodicals of the day, some of them, unhappily, coloured by a growing spirit of discontent with the Anglican Church on the part of some of the members of the new school. Much too of what was advanced in the "Tracts" themselves was gravely misliked by many earnest and thoughtful Churchmen.



NEWMAN.

(From a Photograph by H. J. Whitlock, Birmingham.)

There is no doubt, however, that up to the year 1839, on the whole the "Oxford Movement" had met with marked success. Largely owing to the pioneers of the new school, the danger which had menaced the Church in 1832-3 had been averted. Little was now heard of destructive reform, while a decided impulse had been given to theological study.

The gravest accusation levelled against the Tractarian party, which by 1839 had become a power in England, was founded upon its alleged leaning to Romanism. To this accusation Pusey replied in his famous letter to the Bishop of Oxford. With great ability he showed that in the "Tracts" published up to that date, and in the writings generally of the acknowledged leaders of the movement, there was a consensus of opinion against Rome and its errors. But Pusey forgot or ignored the fact that already among the "Tractarians" there had sprung up a small, though powerful group of able men whose words and writings were decidedly coloured with those very Romish tendencies which he disclaimed for the whole party. In truth, in the years 1839-40-41, the Tractarians were dividing into two schools, Pusey and Keble remaining at the head of the party faithful to Anglicanism, Newman being looked to as the leader of the men who looked longingly Romewards.

"No. 90" of the famous tracts, the work of Newman, appeared early in 1841. It dealt with the Thirty-nine Articles, and maintained, with great ingenuity, that in the great Anglican formulary "was there no Catholic doctrine or hardly any Roman doctrine condemned." Its avowed purpose was to keep in the Church of England a certain number of his disciples who were on the point of joining the Church of Rome. With a voice practically unanimous "Tract 90" was condemned. The heads of the Oxford Houses, the large majority certainly of the bishops, were formal in their strong expressions of grave disapproval.

The inevitable crisis was precipitated by the action of one of the ablest of Newman's disciples, W. G. Ward, a fellow of Balliol College, who with other friends, who thought as he thought, published a number of articles in the *British Critic*, a quarterly review of weight and consideration, in which comparisons were instituted between the Churches of Rome and England, the result of such comparisons being adverse to the latter; and somewhat later, Ward put out a bulky volume known as "The

Ideal,"[1] which was absolutely disloyal to the English Church.

The Oxford Convocation met and condemned the book, degrading its author from all his University degrees. This was in the February of 1845.

In the October of that year the master of that wandering genius, W. G. Ward, the brilliant gifted Newman, became a Romanist; and besides the loved leader, a long sad list of distinguished men, including, of course, Ward, author of the "Ideal," were lost at that time, or soon after, to the Church of England. Only, however, about forty or fifty of the clergy, out of some twenty thousand or more, went over to Rome. It turned out that the "Romanising" party among the Tractarians were but a minute fragment. The loss the English Church sustained in the great catastrophe consisted rather in the brilliancy of the perverts than in their actual numbers.[2]

The Church of Rome in England gained enormously, the forty or fifty perverts brought, as it has been said, such preaching, such writing, as had never been heard or seen on the Romish side before, at least in England. But the gain began and ended here. After the famous "going out" above related, there were very few more secessions, and as the conspicuously able men who had joined Rome in 1845-6 passed away one by one, the void they left behind them in the Church they chose to adopt for their own has never been filled up. Since that momentous epoch, as far as England is concerned, Rome can register no real increase, either in the number or in the character of her adherents.

The Tractarian Party after the Secession of

[1] The full title of this once famous work was "The Ideal of the Christian Church considered in comparison with Existing Practice."

[2] The writer here sadly feels how utterly this "studiedly" short account fails to do justice to the eventful story. The reader is referred to his "History," chap. lxxv., where the above little sketch is completed, and some of the pleas urged by Newman as part of the "apologia" for his action in joining the Church of Rome are set forward

1845-6.—The "going out" of Newman and his friends was, of course, a crushing blow to the new Oxford School, which had cherished such high hopes of reinvigorating the Church they loved so well, but it was not *ruin*, as many supposed it would be. The great school of thought which the "Movement" had created had a foundation too solid to be destroyed by the mistakes and exaggerations of a few erring souls. It possessed also too many serious and able men to be crushed even by so calamitous a series of events as those so briefly sketched above. Pusey and Keble, Marriott, Isaac Williams, and Palmer, and such men as Hook, Vicar of Leeds, among the early pioneers remained unswerving in their loyalty to the Church of England, besides a phalanx of less known adherents. Pusey surpassed all the others in weight and influence, and he became the centre of the shattered but still powerful party which for a time was everywhere spoken against.

For more than forty years—from 1845 to 1882—in good report and in evil report, Pusey remained the acknowledged leader of the Tractarian party. Not a few holy men in our Church, including deeply read scholars and divines, would decline to endorse many things he has written and taught. But the more thoughtful and generous rejoice in the thought that the great Anglican Communion is wide enough to include such teachers, recognising how profound are the mysteries about which such grave differences exist in the Church of Christ. There is so much substantial agreement in vital matters of common faith between such men as Simeon and Pusey, that some latitude of opinion in what must be termed speculative theology may fairly be allowed. A spirit of mutual concession, of loving charity one towards another has done much, in days to come will probably do more, to bring parties and different schools of thought in our great English Church together, thus enabling her to perform the high and gracious mission which her adorable Master has undoubtedly entrusted her to carry out among the world-wide English-speaking peoples.

No fair-minded English Churchman, whether he belongs to the High Church or Evangelical school of thought, would hesitate for a moment to express his deep gratitude to the "Oxford Movement" as the source whence much of the revival in Church life among us is derived. In the period which has elapsed since our loved Queen, whose gracious presence is still, thank God, with us, has sat on the throne of the Plantagenet, the Tudor, and the Stuart, a great change has, in good truth, passed over the Church of England. Churches are more reverently cared for, more richly and nobly adorned within and without. The Holy Eucharist is celebrated oftener and with increased reverence. Services have been multiplied, and have become brighter and more attractive. Theological learning has been more and ever more cultivated amongst us. And all this is by no means confined to churches served by ministers of one party.

The Evangelicals in the latter part of the Nineteenth Century.—As a result of the "Oxford Movement," it is indisputable that English Churchmen have become more and more High Churchmen, and that a remarkable uniformity in ritual is noticeable in the vast majority of Anglican churches. But the historian, whose province it is to look below the surface of things, would be strangely at fault if he failed to recognise that beneath the seeming Anglican uniformity, still existed the old and striking differences which have for so long been the characteristic features of the two great parties who virtually make up the Church of England.

While now granting that many of the lessons of the "Oxford Movement" have permeated the *whole* Anglican Church, and largely coloured its ritual and practice, while acknowledging the debt of gratitude which the Church of England owes to that far-reaching revival, which has stirred up such enthusiasm for so much that was venerable and precious in the past, which has especially emphasised the notion of the corporate aspect of Christian life, and has shown with a scholarly precision the unbroken continuity of the Church of England with the Church of earlier times, we would at the same time remind

the student of our Church's story of a truth, which some writers among us would seem curiously to ignore, that the great sister school of thought—that of the Evangelicals—is still a living, a growing power, in the great Anglican Communion.

And it is better so, the Church of England would sadly lose in vigour and power if a dull uniformity in teaching prevailed. We must not forget how divers are the minds of the great multitude who make up the numbers of the Anglican Communion, and while the great fundamental doctrines of Christianity are equally precious to all, certain groups are affected specially by one presentment of religious truth, certain groups by another.

Each of the two great schools of thought is tempted to exaggerate, and to press its own favourite views. It is well that these possible exaggerations of one school should be somewhat neutralised by the teaching of the other. The High Churchman in his reverence for antiquity, in his intense belief in the efficacy of the blessed sacraments, is tempted at times to ignore, if not to forget, the action of the Holy Spirit sometimes working in men independent of all sacraments, and even to prefer—perhaps unconsciously—the authority of tradition in the Church to the plain words of the Bible. On the other hand, the Evangelical in his conviction of the ever-presence of the Holy Spirit, in his passionate attachment to the inspired word of God, is too apt to neglect if not to ignore the priceless treasure of tradition; to undervalue if not to forget the glorious heritage of the unbroken continuity of his historic Church; even at times to think too little of the blessed sacraments, those divinely appointed channels of grace. The teaching of one school thus serves to correct the omissions of the other, and to reveal to earnest serious men aspects of truth they might otherwise lose sight of.

For many years the Evangelical party in the Church of England have occupied a less prominent place in the eyes of the public than their numbers (for while decidedly in the minority, they form a *very large minority*) and their earnestness would seem fairly to claim for them. The Evangelical party

has undoubtedly suffered in the last half century by its long and somewhat stubborn resistance to ecclesiastical developments. Every kind of Church organisation, such as the Revival of Convocation, Diocesan Conferences, the Church Congress, and in certain instances Church development in the Colonies,[1] has been more or less opposed by the leaders of the party and its public organs. Things, however, have gradually changed, and the Evangelicals now unreservedly accept what they once disliked. But the policy they long pursued in these matters was a mistaken one, and it undoubtedly injured their legitimate influence.

But when we have admitted to the full the grave mistake of the Evangelicals in past times, and the inevitable consequences of their mistake, pains must be taken to counteract a common error, that the Evangelical cause is a falling one. The contrary is, in fact, the case. The hold which the Evangelicals have on the affections of the people is a strong one, and shows no sign of diminishing, but the opposite. For instance, the total population of parishes assisted by the Pastoral Aid Society is, at least, between five and six millions. That is to say, that the teaching in these parishes is absolutely Evangelical in character, that being a necessary condition of the aid being granted. And this vast population, considerably more than that of all England in the days of Elizabeth, belongs of course exclusively to *poor* districts, since comparatively well-to-do parishes would never ask for assistance from a Society whose funds are, after all, but limited,[2] and whose work is thus necessarily confined to *poor* centres. This large number of five or six millions is only a part of the population of England at present under teachers of the Evangelical School.

Again the splendid and ever-growing enthusiasm evoked

[1] That this is *not* the spirit which lives in the Evangelical party at the close of the nineteenth century, is emphatically shown by the action of the Church Missionary Society, which *entirely* supports fifteen Anglican bishops abroad, and contributes to the maintenance of four others.

[2] The income of the Church Pastoral Aid Society is, roughly, about £30,000 per annum, mainly derived from voluntary yearly offerings.

by the Church Missionary Society, mainly supported by the Evangelicals in the Church of England, may also be fairly quoted as a striking instance of the hold on the affections of the people to which we have alluded. The Church Missionary Society with its world-wide operations—its noble income, an income largely made up of offerings from the people—ranks as the first and most influential of all the various Christian Missionary Companies.

Again that affection is largely fostered by the hereditary dread and dislike of the people to Rome. The Evangelical School[1] is popularly regarded as providing the great bulwark against the introduction of the dreaded Romish teaching.

During the century now closing, two great Evangelical leaders have arisen, who, in the eyes of the English people, have indisputably filled the foremost place as the champions of the oppressed and the down-trodden, William Wilberforce (who passed away in 1831), and the good and great Earl of Shaftesbury (who died in 1885). These two eminent philanthropists and their friends tower above all their contemporaries in their noble works for the help of the suffering and the helpless poor. We have already spoken of *Wilberforce*, the pupil of the famous Evangelical teachers of the eighteenth century. To him the Emancipation of the Slaves was mainly owing. He was, too, for years the centre and guiding genius of that illustrious Evangelical group known as the Clapham Sect.

Lord Shaftesbury, the second of these world-renowned Evangelical leaders, has been in the England of the second half of the nineteenth century, a yet more commanding personality. His splendid and successful efforts on behalf of the poor and the oppressed have been more exclusively confined to *home* abuses. His own words well paint his position in the religious life of England. "I am essentially," he said

[1] It is, however, a fact which perhaps is not always recognised by the people, that the great majority of High Church *responsible* leaders and teachers are equally opposed to Romish errors and to Papal pretensions.

as late as 1884, "an Evangelical of the Evangelicals from deep-rooted convictions. I have worked with them constantly, and I am satisfied that most of the great philanthropic movements of the century have sprung from them. I stand fast by the teachings held by that party."

We can only touch here on the barest outlines of the beneficent efforts of the Evangelical leader and his friends, which have, with good reason, made so deep an impression upon the heart of England. The great work of Factory Legislation, with which his name will be ever connected, began as early as 1833, and for some twenty years, now advancing, now at a standstill, owing to interested opposition, moved slowly onward. The Factory Acts, procured mainly, if not entirely, by the self-denying labours of Shaftesbury and his friends, have rendered tolerable the lives of tens of thousands of toilers in our midst. A mighty army made up of men, women, and children, ever increasing in numbers, have, indeed, real cause to bless the name of the good earl. Nor were his labours confined to the help he brought to the multitudes who toiled in the wide-spread mighty industries connected with our mills and factories and mines. There is besides a long catalogue of minor industries helped and materially benefited by the same tireless religious zeal and Christian love. It is no wonder that the poor of England worshipped the ground on which he trod, and the love and veneration won by the famous Evangelical and his friends has been reflected in a considerable measure on the religious party to which Shaftesbury and his friends were attached.

The living and ever-growing power in England of a school of thought which some, as we have said, commonly suppose to be fast fading away, is singularly manifested by the wonderful growth of the Islington Clerical Meeting, a yearly gathering almost confined to clergymen, and to clergymen exclusively of the Evangelical School. About fifty years ago some thirty or forty persons made up the little assembly. In the gathering of 1898 750 Evangelical clergymen met at Islington. Nor were the proceedings at the Islington Con-

ference of 1898 less remarkable than the numbers of those assembled. There was an entire absence of party spirit, the whole atmosphere being deeply spiritual and uncontroversial. But, at the same time, the old truths dear to the Evangelicals of the School of the Clapham Sect, of Wilberforce, and of the Cambridge gatherings of Simeon, were boldly and fearlessly enunciated—"As Evangelical Churchmen," very grandly said one of the chief speakers, "we bear a great name, we are heirs of a splendid inheritance; we are entrusted with a noble work."

Sketch of Church Progress since 1845.—Our register, it can be little more, for we are speaking of our own time, of important developments of the Church of England in the last half century naturally begins with *the resuscitation of Convocation in* 1852.

The National Synod of the Church had been virtually suspended for over a century and a quarter, having fallen under the displeasure of the Government of the day in 1717, when George I. was king (it was then regarded as unwisely taking sides in the political controversies of the day). By the advice of the Ministers it was prorogued, and was never suffered to meet again for the dispatch of business until the year 1852. *Convocation* since that date has constantly sat, and has been busily engaged in a great variety of ecclesiastical matters. Its debates as a rule have been conducted with moderation and dignity. It has brought to bear on many important questions, learning, experience and forbearance. On the whole, its influence has served to quench party spirit. It has a great future before it, and its rare prudence and sagacity in the past, which has effectually disarmed all hostile criticism, give high promise of vastly extended usefulness in the future.

The revival of Convocation in 1852 led to other movements of a similar character—viz., to the establishment, in 1860, of *General Congresses of Churchmen, lay and clerical.* The first of these was held in 1861, in the Hall of King's College, Cambridge. Since 1862 these general congresses have gone on increasing and developing.

Out of the same universal desire of the Church for the revival of Synodal action sprang the idea of *Diocesan Conferences*. The Diocesan Conference of Laymen and Clergymen has been adopted, with slightly varying rules, in the various Dioceses of England. One more, and that a most important feature in the matter of united action on the part of the Anglican Communion must be mentioned. In 1867 it was determined that the bishops of the Anglican Communion in all parts of the world should meet at Lambeth, under the presidency of the Archbishop of Canterbury. To the summons in the case of this first *Pan-Anglican Conference* seventy-six bishops responded. In 1878, *another Pan-Anglican Conference* was held at Lambeth on a yet larger scale, and in 1897 *the third of these great Episcopal gatherings*, under Archbishop Temple, met at Lambeth, when nearly 200 bishops assembled from all parts of the globe.

Very striking has been the expansion of the Church of England beyond the limits of England proper. Some fifty years ago, there were *only seven Anglican bishops* in foreign parts, now there are *ninety-one*, besides those of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States. It must be borne in mind that the extension of the Episcopate means the strengthening of ecclesiastical organisation in those far distant countries beyond the seas, as well as the expansion of the Church's work. The whole Anglican Communion, which half a century ago numbered about *fifty dioceses* and bishops, has notwithstanding the suppression of half the Irish Episcopate in 1830, increased to *more than four times* that number.

At home, in view of the enormously increasing population, a considerable extension of the Episcopate has been arranged. In all, seven new sees, viz., St Albans, Truro, Liverpool, Newcastle, Southwell, Wakefield, and Bristol, have been constituted, the last five endowed solely by the liberality of Churchmen. By the revival of an old act of Henry VIII., a certain number of suffragans as assistants to the English bishops have also been appointed.

Pastoral Work in the Church of England.—But

after all the vast growth of the Church of England during the second half of the nineteenth century is most conspicuously manifested in the marked revival of pastoral work in many and most varied forms. "Half a century since," wrote a well-known keen observer, "the clergyman stood alone the sole representative of religion in the parish. . . . Now all is changed: wherever it is possible for him to obtain help, he is surrounded by ready and willing assistants in all grades of life. He is aided by three or four curates, and these curates multiply services in Mission Chapels." [1]

Church Restoration and Building. — In another direction the extraordinary vitality of the Church of England during the second half of this century has been conspicuously shown in the construction of new and in the repair of her ancient churches, which has, it has been well said, become "a national passion." From the return laid before Parliament in 1875-6, in the building and repairs of churches belonging to the Anglican Communion at home, a sum of over *twenty-five million and a half sterling* has been expended between 1840 and

[1] As an example of the organisation of one of these great Anglican Parishes, we would briefly put down the "heads" of the work organised in the London Parish of St Pancras. [The connection of the writer of this little manual of Church history during his ten years' Vicariate of St Pancras enables him to vouch for the general accuracy of the details.] The Parish contained some 15,000 souls. The staff consisted of the Vicar and generally 5 Curates, 2 Churchwardens, 2 Sidesmen, 3 Scripture Readers, 4 Bible Women or Nurses, 40 Members of the Choir, 8 Church Attendants, 250 Sunday School Teachers, 40 or more District Visitors. For the education of the poorer parishioners, there were two groups of Elementary Schools, two groups of immense Sunday Schools, the number of scholars and teachers in these latter amounting roughly to about 3000. Several small free libraries are attached to the Schools and Church Institutes. Bible Classes are held for young men and women, 7 large Mothers' Meetings assemble weekly. There are also considerable Temperance Associations, a Working Man's Institute, a Young Men's Institute, with Club Rooms annexed, besides various Guilds and Clubs, an Invalid Kitchen and Soup Kitchen, etc. Several Mission Rooms, where short services are held, supplement the regular services in the great Parish Church. [St Pancras in 1887.]

1874, a period of thirty-four years. From the last return presented to the House of Lords in 1892, we find since 1874, that a sum of *twenty millions and a half* more has been raised and spent upon the same objects, the latter period, and this is specially encouraging, showing by far the larger sum in proportion. During the six or seven years which have elapsed since the last Parliamentary return was made, enormous sums raised and spent must be added to the above huge totals, and out of these great sums amounting roughly to over fifty millions sterling thus spent solely upon our churches, comparatively very little was derived from any source save from private voluntary gifts from loyal and devoted English Churchmen.

In the course of the last half century it will be difficult to find a church in England which has not been more or less thoroughly restored and put in order, or entirely rebuilt. It is no exaggeration to say that the number of churches has been generally doubled, and in towns even trebled or quadrupled. Of these new churches, although the splendid secret of the great mediæval builders, alas, is no longer with us, not a few are really beautiful, some even magnificent, and will almost bear comparison with the wondrous beauty of the mighty creations of the architects of the Middle Ages.

One singularly interesting development of the vigorous life of the Anglican Church in the latter years of the nineteenth century is the new position which our magnificent cathedrals have taken in the religious life of England. Not many years ago these stately piles attracted few besides the scholar and the antiquary. But the cathedral in later years has become a great religious power among the masses of the people, besides being an example and an ideal for countless daughter churches—and not only in the conspicuous examples of St Paul's and Westminster in the great Metropolis, but in provincial centres the cathedral is the recognised school of church music, the type and model of a perfect Anglican service—on week days as well as on Sundays it has become *the* church of the

people, the acknowledged centre of the many popular gatherings for worship and for teaching.

One striking addition to the services of the Middle Ages deserves especial notice as a great feature in the revival of the Victorian age—*the new music*. It is strange that amidst all the gorgeous and striking ceremonies of the mediæval services, with their wealth of colour and ornament, *music*, as it is now understood, was comparatively neglected and apparently unknown. In the noblest cathedral of the Middle Ages, in the great Benedictine or Cistercian Abbey, while *the eye* was filled with sights of solemnity and beauty, *the ear* was comparatively uncared for. Strangely monotonous and ever harsh would chant and psalm and hymn sound in the musically trained ears of the worshippers of the second half of the nineteenth century. There were organs, it is true, in the larger pre-Reformation churches, but the organ with its vast forest of pipes and elaborate machinery we are accustomed to see in our cathedrals and more important churches, and which on a smaller scale is now a necessary adjunct even to the smaller churches, was then absolutely unknown. Among the developments we are now sketching—none are more remarkable than the cultivation of this comparatively speaking "new art" of music —it has become a marked feature in all Anglican worship.

A reproach often levelled at the Church, perhaps thoughtlessly, deserves at least a word of comment. It is said, often with some exaggeration, that the Church of England with all its ministrations, fails to reach vast masses of the population. The charge is partly true, but those who somewhat heedlessly level it, forget the tremendous change, which in the last one hundred years has passed over England. So lately as in the days of Queen Anne the population only numbered just over *six millions*; even in the early year of this nineteenth century *nine millions* represented the number in England and Wales. Now *thirty millions* would be nearer the truth! Much has been done, many a new church has been built, the ranks of the clergy have been considerably augmented, but the number of the new churches and of the additional clergy are

utterly disproportionate to the enormous and undreamed of rapid increase in the population.

We have more than once in the course of this little manual dwelt on what we have termed "*the Continuity*" of the Church of England. It is this "*unbroken continuity*" which has been, still is, a principal source of her wonderful strength and power. We mean by this "continuity" that all through the thirteen hundred years of her existence in this favoured island *there has never been a break in the life of the Holy Catholic Church of England.* It has ever from the days of Augustine, at the close of the sixth century [1] to our own day at the close of the nineteenth, professed the Catholic Faith. It has ever taught the Sacraments ordained by Christ himself. It has ever possessed the succession of bishops, priests, and deacons, the Catholic Orders of the Ministry. Its faith has been the faith contained in the Nicene Creed, originally recited at the Council of Constantinople, in A.D. 381, repeated and ratified by the Council of Ephesus in A.D. 431, and at the Council of Chalcedon in A.D. 451.[2]

Unbroken too has been its "succession." There was no interruption here in the darkest hours of the "Viking" raids in the time of Alfred; no interruption in the days of the Norman Conquest. There was no interruption in the reign of Queen Mary. And when Elizabeth came to the throne, Archbishop Parker was consecrated to the Arch-See of Canterbury, vacant by the death of Cardinal Pole, with the greatest care and caution. No serious critic now ventures to impugn the purity of the Anglican Succession.

[1] Although the formal story of the Church of England dates from A.D. 597 it is clear that a powerful branch of the Catholic Church existed in Britain long anterior to that date, before the coming of the Northmen swept away most of the old life of the island.

[2] Save in the addition of the words "filioque" (and "from the Son)," which words have been added to the assertion of the Procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father, this *one addition*, the Church of England, in common with the Church of Rome, has made to the primitive Creed of Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon.

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PRINTED BY
TURNBULL AND SPEARS
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